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LIFE IN NEW-YORK AT THE CLOSE OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

Judge Thomas Jones, in his loyalist history of New-York, introduces his subject with the statement, "In the year 1752 New-York was in its happiest state. We had no foreign or domestic enemy. Great Britain was at peace with all the world. The Colony was extending its trade, encouraging the arts and sciences, and cultivating its lands. Its inhabitants were daily increasing in riches and wealth and opulence. They were at the same time laborious, industrious, and frugal, lived in the most hospitable manner though with great economy. Luxury was unknown in the province; . . . at this happy time all discord had ceased; parties were forgotten and animosities forgiven. The disposition, the conduct and behaviour of the people in general bespoke harmony, concord, mutual love, and reciprocal affection." The judge closes his somewhat idyllic rhapsody with the declaration that this was the "Golden Age of New York." There is no reason to question the correctness of this picture if con-



REV. JOHN OGILVIE.¹

¹ The Rev. John Ogilvie was born in New-York city in 1722, and died there in 1774. Graduating at Yale in 1748, he entered the ministry and spent several years as a missionary among the Mohawks. In 1764 he was appointed assistant minister in Trinity Church, New-York, a position which he occupied for the remaining ten years of his life. He received the degree of D. D. both from King's College and from the Aberdeen University in Scotland.

sidered only in its moral light, but it would be hardly safe to attribute the material prosperity of the city to the fact that Great Britain was at peace. War had few terrors for the people of New-York. The religious contest was by no means at an end, and might break out afresh at any moment.

A prominent object, if not the main purpose, of the Dutch government in granting the New Netherland charter was to provide in the safe harbor of New Amsterdam a sally-port and a refuge for the men-of-war and privateers which scoured the Spanish main in quest of the rich galleons which carried the wealth of the American colonies of the great Catholic powers to Lisbon and Cadiz. The fight between Spain and Holland was to the knife, and the American Dutchmen partook of the enthusiasm of their countrymen. Nor were their descendants under English rule less inclined to water adventure, save that it took the form of smuggling goods into the territory of the neighboring English colonies. The English were not more squeamish on this point, but their ventures were in the form of short cruises in fleet, well-armed vessels in southern waters. These privateers were armed and officered by the flower of the New-York gentry, and their captures were the foundation of many a New-York fortune.

The renewal of hostilities with France in 1754 set these wild spirits in fresh flame. The celebrated Thomas Randall, one of the most noted captains of the day, who in 1748 had brought in the French ship *L'Amazone* as a prize taken by his brigantine, the *Fox*, again in 1757 took out the brigantine *De Lancey*, of fourteen guns. He seems to have been joint owner in other privateers; in 1758 of the snow *General Abercrombie*, sixteen guns, and the ship *Mary*, ten guns. In 1762 he owned the *Charming Sally*, of six guns. The *De Lancey* fell into the hands of the Dutch, off Curaçoa, and her commander and crew were imprisoned. Randall was not then in command. He later distinguished himself in the war of the Revolution, and was thanked by Washington as one of the donors of "the President's barge," used by him during his first administration. Captain Isaac Sears—"King Sears," as he was called (whose acquaintance has been made as a Son of Liberty)—was a peaceful trader until the French war broke out. In 1752 he took to sea the dogger *Decoy*, of six guns, and later the sloop-of-war *Catherine*; but his most daring exploits were when in command of the sloop *Belle Isle*, of fourteen guns, which, in 1759, fell in with a large French ship of twenty-four guns and eighty men. Three times Sears grappled the Frenchman, but a gale separating the vessels, the sloop sheered off with

nine killed and twenty wounded. The owners of the Belle Isle were John Schermerhorn & Co., merchants of the city. Randall and Sears were seafaring men. So also was Alexander McDougall, with whom



PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE OF THE NORTH DUTCH CHURCH.¹

acquaintance has been made as a Son of Liberty, and the Wilkes of America. In 1758 he sailed the privateer Tyger with success in the

¹ The above illustration represents the principal entrance to the North Dutch Church, built in 1769 on the corner of Fulton and William streets. This door faced on William street, toward the east. The illustration a few pages further on represents one of the windows of this church. Out of this window the prisoners confined here during the Revolution often gazed, wishing in vain for liberty. The church was demolished in 1875.

West Indies. Still another and at the time more famous buccaneer was Captain Peter Corne, an old African coast trader, who was joint owner with Anthony Van Dam (later secretary of the chamber of commerce) of the brigantine Nebuchadnezzar, of eight guns, which he took out in 1758. The extent to which this dangerous business was carried appears in the numerous ventures of Mr. Lawrence Kortright, one of the commercial magnates. He was part owner of the Harlequin, of eight guns; in 1754, of the brigantine John, fourteen guns; and in 1756, of the brigantine De Lancey, already mentioned; of the Prince Edward, eight guns; of the snow Royal Hester, sixteen guns; of the Prince Ferdinand, fourteen guns, and the ship Hunter, eighteen guns; Mr. Peter Keteltas, another well-known name, was in 1752 part owner and agent of the Royal Hester, which brought in the French ships *Le Leger* and *Le Débonnaire*; and in 1754, of the sloop *Anne*. Even Philip Livingston and his son were deeply engaged in ship ventures. In 1757 he sent out the schooner *Albany* of eight guns and the ship *Tartar* of sixteen guns, and in 1758 the *Amherst* of twelve guns. These are but instances of the joint-stock companies in which the merchants took a lively interest.

The peace of Paris brought the Seven Years' War to a close in 1763, and the sound of the recruiting drum and fife was heard no more on the wharves of the now peaceful city. But it is easy to account for the change which had come over its population, and to understand the bold, the spirited, even the turbulent nature of the men who marched to the gates of Fort George during the stamp-act excitement, and later fought the British regulars about the liberty-pole and on Golden Hill. And it must not be supposed that New-York was stagnant during the long years preceding these agitations. Commanding the key to Canada on her northern frontier, the city itself was the natural headquarters of the invading army. From New-York the governor, Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, sailed for the capture of Louisburg. On Staten Island was fitted out the maritime expedition which another governor, General Robert Monckton, led to Martinique; and New-York was the base of the operations which closed the struggle with the capture of Montreal and completed the conquest of the Canadas. Naturally these extensive movements gave ample occupation to the industries of the city, created a large demand for supplies, and brought into circulation a considerable amount of coin, a commodity rare in the colonies at any time. All the coin received came from the Spanish West India Islands, and after a short and uncertain sojourn here passed to England by the oper-

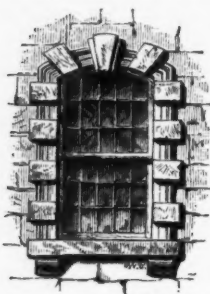
ations of the balance of trade, the scales of which Dame Britannia always managed to turn in her own favor.

Amid all this life and bustle, the march of improvement in the city went steadily on after that "Golden Age." Before 1754 the only buildings of any public consequence in the city were the City Hall, in Wall street, the Province House, within the enclosure of Fort George, opposite the Bowling Green, and the Merchants' or Royal Exchange, a building constructed upon arches at the lower end of Broad street, and not completed till 1752. Of the three Episcopal churches founded by royal charter in 1697, Trinity stood as first erected, but with subsequent enlargements, on Broadway at the head of Wall street; St. George's Chapel, built in 1752, on Beekman street; and the elegant structure of St. Paul's, on the corner of Broadway and Vesey, finished, with the exception of its spire, in 1766, the latter not being added till after the Revolution. Of the three houses of worship belonging to the Presbyterians, the first, in Wall street, near Broadway, a modest building of rough stone, stood in its original form (as erected in 1719) until enlarged in 1768; the second, or brick meeting-house, a branch of the Wall street church, was built in 1768 upon the vineyard lot opposite the common (City Hall park), having but insignificant neighbors, small wooden houses on the Boston road (later Chatham street, now Park Row); the third, or Scotch Presbyterian church, was also erected about this time in Little Queen (now Cedar) street, between Nassau street and Broadway, the congregation having originated about 1756 in a secession of the Scottish members from the Wall street church in consequence of changes in the form of worship and difference in taste as to psalmody.

Of the three Dutch Reformed churches, the Old South, or Garden street church (the site of which was in the present Exchange Place), still stood as originally constructed in 1693, but was rebuilt in 1766; the New or Middle Dutch church, an overflow from the Garden street congregation, set up their house of worship in 1729, and remodeled it in 1764, being for a long time one of the finest buildings in the city, its lofty cupola commanding the best view of the city and country, and affording Dr. Franklin a fine opportunity to make some of his experiments in electricity; while the North Dutch church, on the corner of Fulton and William streets, was not built till 1769. The Methodists worshiped in a church on John street, near Nassau; but this also was not built till 1769. The Moravians occupied a small frame building in Fulton, between William and Dutch streets, erected in 1757; the Baptists, a modest structure in Gold street, between Fulton and John, built in 1760; and

the Friends, one in Little Green street (now Liberty Place), between Maiden Lane and Crown (now Liberty) street. The French congregation, L'Eglise du Saint Esprit, had not left their original place of worship, erected, in 1704, in Pine street, fronting the rear of the present United States Subtreasury. The building is described as "low, grave,

sombre, and its tower heavy and monastic." The Jewish synagogue, erected in 1709, stood on the site of the first house of worship, in Mill street, which had been built in 1706.



WINDOW OF NORTH
DUTCH CHURCH.

The growth and prosperity of the city are shown by the number of these structures for religious purposes during the period under consideration, since, of the whole number of fifteen, eight were remodeled or newly erected between 1754 and 1763. The same was attested by King's College, which, begun in 1756, was erected on the beautiful grounds

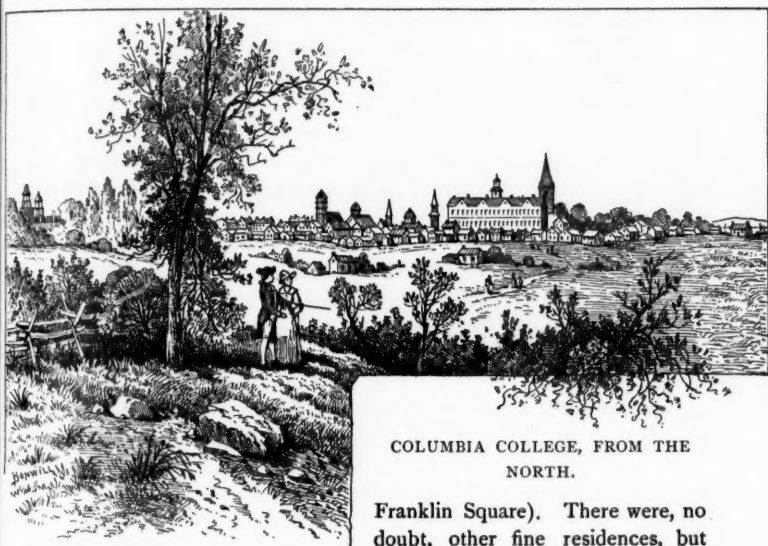
bounded by Church street, Chapel street (now West Broadway), Murray, and Mortlike (now Barclay) streets. It was an elegant stone structure, three stories high, with a chapel, hall, library, museum, anatomical theatre and school for experimental philosophy. The edifice was surrounded by a high fence, forming a large court, containing noble trees and a garden; a truly academic inclosure. The students resided in the college.

There was no public building for the exhibition of art in the city, nor, for that matter, was there much of art to exhibit. The theatre stood on the north side of John street, between Broadway and Nassau street. It was in the rear of the lot, and was entered by a covered way. It was opened December 7, 1762, by "The American Company," with Farquhar's comedy of "The Stratagem," and the famous Garrick's farce of "Lethe."

The sites of the principal taverns, the Province Arms, the Queen's Head (Fraunces'), the King's Arms (Barden's), and the resorts of the Liberty boys, opposite the common,—De la Montanye's and Hampden Hall,—have been noticed, as well as the location of the coffee-houses, the Merchants', the Gentlemen's, and the Exchange. There were but few other places of public entertainment. The Ranelagh was a summer garden on the west side of Broadway, between present Duane and Worth streets. Ranelagh House was on the northern side

of this green, on the ground later occupied by the New-York Hospital, of which, as has been seen, Governor Tryon witnessed the laying of the corner-stone. The Vauxhall was also a large garden (part of Sir Peter Warren's¹ estate), at the foot of Warren street, extending as far as Chambers, and commanding a beautiful view of the Hudson River. Destroyed during the stamp-act excitement it was afterwards refitted by Sam Fraunces.

The most noted private residences were the Kennedy mansion at No. 1 Broadway, already noticed as standing at the period of the stamp act; and the Walton House, in Queen street (St. George's Square, now



COLUMBIA COLLEGE, FROM THE
NORTH.

Franklin Square). There were, no doubt, other fine residences, but these only have any historical consequence as of the period now under treatment. The Walton House has already been carefully described.² With the exception, perhaps, of the double balustrades on the roof, the carving, and the armorial bearings, the architecture of the Walton House did not differ greatly from that of other fine houses which pre-

¹ Admiral Sir Peter Warren, the victor of Louisburg, who married a daughter of Stephen De Lancey, died in Ireland, in 1752.

² The ship-yards on the East River were owned by the Waltons, and from the hands of their skilled designers and builders sprung the saucy fleet of privateers which scoured the seas in colonial days, and were the precursors of that later merchant marine which carried the glad tidings of the birth of the new republic, with its starry emblem of hope, to the oppressed of every clime.

ceded it. True, the gabled ends and occasional quaint features of the original Dutch structures were already rare, but the Anglo-Dutch type remained. The latest specimens of this mixed school were until quite recently the four buildings on the corners of Broad and Pearl streets, that on the southeast corner being Fraunces' Tavern. They were all built about the beginning of the last century by the De Lanceys and French families on the old Van Cortlandt property, were two stories high, with a double pitched roof, and of small, yellow bricks, which it is the habit to call "Holland," though they were not necessarily of Dutch make. No doubt in the earlier days bricks were brought out as ballast in the Amsterdam trading-ships, but there were material and kilns enough in the colony for all its needs.

Mention has been made of Colden's fine chariot imported to take the place of that destroyed on the Bowling Green. De Swintière gives a list of the gentlemen who kept their coaches, chariots or post-chaises, and phaetons in 1770. There were twenty-six of the former, thirty-three of the second class, and twenty-six of the last—a total of eighty-five vehicles—many of these ornamented with the coats of arms of their owners on the panels.

Mention has been made of New-York hospitality. It was a tradition from the time of the early Dutch settlement. Good living was the rule, not the exception, in this colony. It would have been shameful were it otherwise, for nowhere on this continent, nor perhaps on any other, were there such profusion of native and imported products to delight the inner man as in the New-York province. What are now termed luxuries were then within reach of the poorest. From the ocean came salt-water fish of the choicest kinds, to which the gentlemen were so partial that in 1763 they clubbed together and built a fishing-smack, the Amherst, which made her first trip to the "Banks" in July of that year. Other combinations followed this so rapidly that the supply outran the demand, and the Amherst was sold. The Shrewsbury Banks, an arm of the Sandy Hook Bay, was the fishing-ground whence the city drew its main supply of sea-fish. The fish were usually brought in alive, and the principal catch was of codfish, sheephead (that from Gravesend Bay being unequalled in quality), and mackerel. From the Jersey shore also came in great abundance the king-fish, the most esteemed of all varieties by old epicures; and the sea-bass, which, always highly prized, has of late years been pronounced by foreigners the very best of our salt-water fish. The Hudson River swarmed with shad in spring, and the striped bass

ran in multitudes through the rapid waters of the East River in the autumn months; while beneath the numerous rocks which underlie its troubled surface, the tautog blackfish lurked in great numbers. To complete the variety, the Long Island ponds and streams abounded in perch and chub and trout, and the lamper-eel and catfish, dear to the heart of the dark-skinned servants of the day. Gaine's "Mercury" of May, 1873, reports twenty-three different sorts of fresh fish as for sale in the market on May 26. Twenty years later a list displayed fifty-six varieties. New-York is still famous for its shell-fish, oysters and clams, lobsters and crabs; but the old Blue Point oyster of the South Bay has dwindled from its once great size to diminutive proportions, and the endless varieties, each with its own merit of flavor and of flesh,—the Spuyten Duyvil, the Pelham, and the Harlem Creek, the East River, the Middle Rock, and the Mill Pond (a carefully cultivated kind),—have utterly disappeared because of the disturbance of our waters by the growth of the city and the establishment of factories on the water-line. So also the lobster, which grew to great size about the Black Rock (off Ninety-second street, East River), and has been sold

THE RHINELANDER SUGAR-HOUSE.¹

¹ It was erected in 1763 by Bernart R. Cuyler, and its solid, unbroken walls stand as a silent testimonial to the honesty of the dead and gone builder. The date and the architect's initials are still to be seen on the side of the building, worked in wrought-iron characters, quaint and old. The Rhinelander family has owned the property since 1790, and much of the land around it has been in their possession much longer than that. When first erected the house was used as a sugar-house, but the great interest in the old building is in the memory of the use to which it was put in Revolutionary times. The grated windows, the dungeon-like underground cellars, the general air of solidity and impregnability which impress the observer at first sight, bear out the assertion, which has become a creed among the neighbors, that during the Revolution the sugar-house was diverted from its legitimate use and turned into a British prison, where many an American patriot suffered not only imprisonment, but cruelties and starvation. That it must have made a prison of the worst kind was lately to be seen by a look at the forbidding building from Rose street, when the sides facing on that street were exposed to full view by the demolition of the modern structures which had covered them for years. At the present writing the structure is no more. On the side facing toward the east many windows were walled up during the last fifteen years, but there were still six grated openings left. Three were in the gable and the others along the south side. Underneath them was a great vaulted passageway made of heavy masonry like the whole building. Still another opening was to be seen alongside of it, half-hidden by rubbish, and the barred outline of another cell-window also visible after close examination. The key of the ancient prison is still preserved. It is a large affair of wrought-iron, about a foot long, and weighs about half a pound. A number of other relics have been found and preserved, among them a heavy iron ax, shaped like a battle-ax; and a coin, inscribed "Carolus III., Dei Gratia, 1791," on one side, and "M. 2 R. F. Hispan et Indrex" on the other, was found between the boards of the floor.

within the memory of the present generation at two cents the pound, is already a stranger to our waters.

Game, both of flesh and fowl, was in equal abundance. There were deer on Long Island, hares and rabbits in abundance, and the air was thick with wild fowl in the seasons of flight. The elders of the passing generation have seen armies of geese on their southern migration, and flocks of ducks hanging over the Harlem flats, so thick as to cast their shadows on the plain like obscuring clouds; and woodcock were in abundance in the coverts about Jones's Wood and the line of present Eighty-sixth street. The New-York gentleman who in the colonial days varied his business occupation with a few days' shooting had no lack of sport. Such inveterate Nimrods as Theophylact Bache, whilom president of the Chamber of Commerce, had their country-sea's at Flushing, L. I., in the last half of the past century; and it is said of them, as the writer has seen of others with his own eyes in the first half of this century, that, starting out with a horse and wagon and a brace of hunting dogs, they would return after an outing to Islip and the Moriches, with a heaping load of game, large and small, partridge and quail, plover and snipe, wild geese and ducks, the beautiful pile of variegated plumage sometimes surmounted by the antlered carcass of a deer.

There is nothing special to be said of the meat staples; but there was a constant importation of fine stock, and as the pastures of Long Island and of the North River counties were rich of soil, there is no doubt of their quality. In 1761 the standard prices, as established by law, were: beef, 4½d. per pound; pork, 5½d.; veal, 4½d. to 6d.; butter, 15d. per pound; and milk at six coppers the quart. Bread by the asize: the price of a loaf of one pound (twelve ounces) was fixed at four coppers. The fine wheat flour of the New-York colony had no superior in the world.

Vegetables were in unusual plenty. This was a taste inherited from the Dutch; the English to this day knowing little of the vegetable as a delicacy, though using it freely as a food. The finer varieties were grown in gentlemen's gardens, which abounded within the city limits. The Harlem flats were prolific in this product. The markets were supplied from boats which daily brought in their high-heaped loads from the Jersey flats and Long Island. The asparagus from the Coney Island marsh, long, white, and rose-tipped like a lady's finger, was noted for its peculiar aroma, smacking of its native saline origin. The Bermuda potato was already domesticated: a sample was brought to

New-York from Plumb Island in 1748 which weighed no less than seven and one-half pounds.

Nor was there a less abundance of fruit. By universal consent the Newtown pippin is the king of apples. In the colonial days the golden variety of this crisp, aromatic fruit bore away the palm. The Dutch were partial to the russet, a variety now rarely found in old-time perfection. Among pears the Seckel, which grew to perfection on Long Island, was easily the favorite. The constant trade with the English West India Islands kept the city fully supplied with tropical fruit; and in the season the wharves fairly groaned with the weight of the pineapples, oranges, and plantains from Jamaica and St. Eustatius, constituting the deck-loads of the barks and brigs which brought in the sugar and molasses from these sunny isles. The sugar was intended for the refineries which the Bayards and the Livingstons, the Cuylers, the Roosevelts, and the Van Cortlandts, had for years conducted to their great profit; while the molasses was for the numerous distilleries which supplied the city and the Indian traders with the staple drink of the century, "Jamaica rum." Rarely was a meeting held of the merchants at their "Long Room over the Exchange"; or of the Whig club of lawyers which met at the King's Arms Tavern, where George Burns kept the Gentlemen's Coffee-house, and plotted to destroy church and state (according to Judge Jones); or of the Social Club at Sam Fraunces', without a bowl of fragrant beverage of which rum was the main ingredient.

But this was the convivial, not the customary drink of the day. The flowing bowl was reserved for the tavern, or social gatherings. Madeira, king of wines, reigned supreme at the tables of the gentry. True, there were always to be found the wines of Sicily and the Canary Isles, the red vintages of Oporto and Bordeaux, the bright aromatic product of the Xeres and Amontillado districts, and champagne occasionally appeared. But for the staple every-day drink, and for the more solemn occasions,—birthdays, majority-days, marriages, and funerals, the only great events of social life,—Madeira, and Madeira only, was the wine; and the skilful gentleman who looked to his wines as his notable lady to her larder and preserve-room, knew well the process by which, with age and care, he could bring his vintages to each note in the gamut of flavor and delicacy. A gentleman's cellar was no sinecure, nor was its construction the affair of an hour or a day. As each vessel laden with the precious freight arrived (the cargo, all in casks, had no distinctive name, but thereafter took that of the

year of the vintage alone), the merits of the wine would be tested. Certain vintages became famous : that of 1767 had a reputation equal to that of the later vintage of the comet year.

One cask or more were selected, duly cellared, and kept in the wood. One cask only was drawn from during the first year. The next year a second purchase was made. The partly emptied cask was filled from the new purchase ; the third year the process was repeated, the new wine being used every day, and the predecessors, in the order of the importance of the occasion, according to their ages. In due time the older wines were drawn off in demijohns, or sometimes bottled. The lees of the casks served as a base for the Jamaica rum, and gave it a wonderful aroma. But only ample cellars could afford this degenerate use. The cellars took the names of their owners when, by some luckless hap, they came to the vendue-room — a rare fate. The vintages treated by wine-merchants later took the names of the vessels by which they were received. Instances in a not remote day must be familiar, as the Essex, Jr., the Juno, and the Brahmin Madeiras were all from the same vineyard, and brought in by these vessels, while the Farquhar, the Bingham, and the Paulding Madeiras took their names from the owners of the respective cellars ; the March and Benson, from the importers ; the Monteiros, from the grower ; the Metternich, from the origin of the grape. All these, however, are modern fashions. There is no trace of them in the colonial days.

Let us now look for a moment into the manner of life and amuse-



THE LIVINGSTON SUGAR-HOUSE.¹

¹ The Livingston sugar-house stood in Crown street (now Liberty) near the Dutch church. Many citizens will remember the stone archway through which the mails were delivered from the Post-office established in the church adjoining. The Bayard's was in Wall street, close to the City Hall; the Van Cortlandt's, on the northwest corner of Trinity churchyard; the Roosevelt's, in Queen street, near the Walton House; the Cuyler's, later the Rhinelander's, on the corner of Rose and Duane streets, has only lately been torn down.

ments of our forefathers. Their habits were regular, or rather their hours were regular. They rose early, if not with the sun, and had an hour or more at their office or stores, which, before the Revolution, were usually under the same roof as their dwellings; and after a visit to the market, which no head of a New-York house ever omitted, breakfasted in a hearty manner. The dinner-hour was from one to three, and the tea at nightfall, what to-day would be called "high tea." A supper invariably followed at the tavern, or coffee-house, where ale or punch was drunk, crabs were picked out, or escalloped oysters (a favorite dish) eaten, and pipes smoked in the winter; or in the summer lighter beverages, with fruit or ices, consumed at the tea- and mead-houses, the Ranelagh or the Vauxhall, on the outskirts of the town.

For the high gentry, the English officials, and those of the colony in particular who had country estates in the neighborhood of New-York, racing was the chief delight. New-Yorkers of to-day will open their eyes when they are told that in 1742 a race was run on the Church Farm, not a stone's throw to the northwest from where the present Astor House stands; and that here in 1750—five horses running for the October subscription plate—Mr. Lewis Morris, Jr., carried away the prize. His horse is not named. It was not the custom then to name horses which had not taken a purse, and this race was open only to horses which had never taken a purse on Manhattan Island. The great course was the Newmarket, on Hempstead Plains, an ideal piece of ground for a track, to which, in May of that year, twenty chairs and chaises crossed the ferry¹ the day before the "event," and a far greater number of horses, "and it was thought that the number of horses on the plains at the race far exceeded a thousand." The chief racing-stables in the New-York province were those of Morris and De Lancey in Westchester. In 1753 the subscription plate was run for at Greenwich, on the estate of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, who had died the year previous, and which was now in charge of his kinsman and executor, Oliver De Lancey, a famous sportsman. General Monckton later occupied "Richmond" during his brief stay in this government. The governor had a fine horse named Smoaker, with which John Leary, the jockey of the day, won a bowl which he would not surrender to Watts, the general's friend, not even under threat of the terrors of the law. Five years later Leary was still

¹ This ferry was from the Fly Market Slip, at the foot of the present Maiden Lane, to the landing at Brookland. Brooklyn was but a hamlet on the road to Jamaica, along which the drovers and farmers gathered.

tenacious. Besides the Church Farm and Greenwich tracks, there was a third course at Harlem. There were other New-Yorkers keen for the sport: Anthony Rutgers, of New-York, and Michael Kearney, Irish-born,—who married a daughter of Lewis Morris, and was ancestor of the dashing Phil Kearney of military fame,—were thorough sportsmen. The middle and southern colonies were not behind in their love of sports. Dr. Hamilton led the patrons of the turf in New Jersey, and Mr. Daniel Dulaney, who was also of Irish birth, those of Maryland.

The Stamp Act Congress brought together in New-York gentlemen who knew each other well by reputation, but who had never before met in person. In the years that followed there sprung up a great rivalry between the northern and southern colonies. The years 1767, 1768, and 1769 are memorable in the history of the turf. Lewis Morris won reputation for his Westchester stables with his American Childers and Strumpet. In October, 1769, James De Lancey, with his imported horse, Lath, brought home from the Centre course at Philadelphia the £100 prize. The De Lancey stables were the most expensive of any at the north, and from this period to the Revolution their colors were on every course. A curious instance shows the difficulties sportsmen as well as tradesmen had to contend with because of the debased state of the coinage and the irregular values of the currency of the colonies. On the Maryland course, Dulaney made a match with De Lancey for a race for a "struck half-bushel" of Spanish dollars—that is, by weight. Later the Marylanders declined to stake their money against Virginia currency at the Leestown course on the Potomac, the Virginia paper having been "counterfeited in a masterly manner."

The most celebrated of the races of the stamp-act period was that between True Briton and Selim in 1765, at the very height of the hostile feeling against Great Britain. True Briton was English-born; Selim, a grandson of the Godolphin Arabian, was American-born, and had the fleetest foot in the colonies. The race was over the Philadelphia course and for £1,000 stakes. One Waters, who owned True Briton, had challenged the continent, in true British boastfulness of language, to a trial of speed. Samuel Galloway, of Maryland, answered his defiance with Selim. The race was hardly a trial of speed, but the matchless Selim bore off the honors and the purse. Another True Briton belonging to James De Lancey won Revolutionary fame. It is said of this animal that Colonel Oliver De Lancey would jump him back and forth from a standstill over a five-barred gate. In 1768, the "terrific Selim" came to grief with Dr. Hamilton's Figure, a scion of

the Duke of Devonshire's Arabian, on the course of Upper Marlborough, near Newburgh on the Hudson. These are but instances of the trials for speed in which the New-York stables were represented. They serve to show not only the spirit, but the wealth of the period.

Racing on the water was not much in fashion, though the gentry had their barges, and some their yachts or pleasure sail-boats. The most elaborate barge (with awning and damask curtains) of which there is mention was that of Governor Montgomerie, and the most noted yacht was the *Fancy*, belonging to Colonel Lewis Morris, whose Morrisania manor, on the peaceful waters of the Sound, gave fine harbor and safe opportunity for sailing. There is an interesting account of a boat-race in 1756 by one of sixteen whale-boats (each manned by six men) which arrived in New-York from Cape Cod on the way to Albany for bateau service in the Canada campaign, with a "pettianger" belonging to the city. The Cape Cod men won the wager with ease, much to the chagrin of the townsmen.

There were other less humane sports : bull-baiting, bear-baiting, and cock-fighting. A bull was baited in 1763 by the keeper of the tavern under the sign of the *De Lancey Arms*, in the Bowery Lane. Bulls were baited at Bayard's Mount, the elevation near the corner of Mulberry and Grand streets. Bear-baiting became more rare as the animals disappeared from this neighborhood. Cock-fighting was a more aristocratic pastime. The *De Lanceys* were patrons of this cruel sport, one to be traced to an English origin, but hardly less cruel than the old Dutch and New Netherland custom of "pulling the goose." Good fighting-cocks were advertised in the New-York papers, as were cock-gaffs of silver and steel ; and the sign of the *Fighting-Cocks* long hung in such an aristocratic neighborhood as next door to the Exchange Coffee House. In 1763, however, it had been removed to a tavern at the Whitehall Slip. Shrove Tuesday was the day for the pitched mains. This sport lasted well into this century as a public amusement. Again, fox-hunting was a favorite pastime, both in the Pennsylvania and the New-York colony. There were foxes on this island, but the less broken grounds of Long Island afforded better running, and by permission each year three days' sport was had on the Flatland plains, the huntsmen meeting at daybreak during the autumn racing-season. That the sport offended some gentle natures appeared by a letter from a female, published before the Revolution, which closes with the delightful satire,

A fox is killed by twenty men,
That fox perhaps had killed a hen ;

A gallant act no doubt is here !
 All wicked foxes ought to fear
 When twenty dogs and twenty men
 Can kill a fox that kill'd a hen.

The side-shows afforded entertainment to a different class. There is notice of a panther, seven feet long, which leaped from a window into the street, in July, 1732, and was finally shot; but whence it came no man knew. In 1751 there was advertised to be seen at the house of Mr. Edward Willett, at Whitehall, a creature called a Japanese, of about two feet high, his body resembling a human body in all parts except the feet and tail: price, one shilling; children, ninepence. In 1765 there was to be seen at the house of Mr. Edward Barden in the Fields, at the sign of the King's Arms, a white girl, aged thirteen years, born of black parents; she is styled a "white-negro." And at the same place there was advertised to be sold "a likely negro man who can play very well on the French Horn and Trumpet, fitting to wait on a gentleman." In 1751 the town was invited to see, at the house of John Bannin, next door to Mr. Peter Brower's, near the Dutch church, "a curious live porcupine of various colors; a creature armed with darts, which resemble writing pens though of different colour, and which he shoots at any adversary with ease when angry or attacked, though otherwise of great good humour and gentleness." In 1755 Captain Seymour arrived in New-York in the ship *Fame* in eight weeks from Cadiz. He brought with him a young lioness which he took on board at Gibraltar. He also brought from the African coast two ostriches, "fowls of that country," but they died on the voyage. In 1754 a living alligator, full four feet long, was shown for sixpence. In December, 1759, at the sign of the Ship-a-Masting, at the upper end of Moravian street, near the back of Spring Garden, there was advertised to be seen "a wild animal lately brought from the Mississippi, called a Buffalo." Occasionally young elks were on exhibition.

Of shows of another variety there was in 1755, at the house of Adam Vandenberg in the Broadway, a musical machine which represented the tragedy of "Bateman." The showman was Richard Brickell, a famous posture maker, who took the theater in Nassau street for a display of "his dancings and tumblings." Anthony Joseph Dugee, who in 1753 announced himself as "late an apprentice to the Grand Turk Mahomet Caratha," danced at Vandenberg's garden "on a slack rope scarcely perceptible, with and without a balance," a measure which had given the greatest satisfaction to the King of Great Britain. Wax figures

were exhibited by Martha Gazley as early as 1731. They were of fruit and flowers; but a more ambitious effort was made in 1749, when "the effigies of the Royal Family of England, and the Empress Queen of Hungaria and Bohemia," with the play of "Whittington and his Cat," were the features of entertainment. In 1739 there was given in Holt's Long Room "a new pantomime in grotesque characters, called "The Adventures of Harlequin and Scaramouch." Punch's opera, "Bateman, or the Unhappy Marriage," with a fine dialogue between Punch and his wife Joan, acted by "a set of lively figures late from Philadel-



VIEW OF BROAD STREET AND THE CITY HALL.

phia," was given in 1747 at the sign of the Spread Eagle, near Whitehall Slip. The circus, with Mr. Faulk's noted performance in horsemanship, appears in 1771. The solar or camera-obscura microscope, and David Lockwood's unparalleled musical clock, which "had been shown twice to the King in his royal palace of St. James," delighted and instructed the town in 1743. A microcosm, or the world in miniature, was displayed at the New Exchange in 1756. A panorama of the battle of Culloden was exhibited in 1750. A grotto with a "Statue of Mars within pointing to General Amherst a short distance away, as meaning,

'Behold a living hero!'" was the curiosity of the neighborhood of the Bowling Green, being shown in the house next door to Mr. Rutherford's, in 1762. In 1763 the city of Malaga in miniature was exhibited opposite the Old Slip, and in 1764 a model of the city of Jerusalem, as Josephus describes it, was on view opposite "the Honorable John Watts' Esqr. near the Exchange." Experiments in electricity were given at the assembly-rooms of the City Arms in the Broadway by William Johnson in 1763. These notices have been given somewhat in detail as showing the manner in which localities were indicated in the days when street numbers were unknown, and signs appearing to the eye were the only guides. The theater opened, as has been stated, in 1750. The performances continued, with occasional interruptions, till August, 1773, when the depression arising from the political situation brought all public and most private entertainments to a close.

The public balls were given at the principal taverns. After the middle of the century the long room at the City Arms on the Broadway was the favorite dancing-hall. The most minute account of the dances appears in the notice of the ball in honor of the Prince of Wales's birthday, in 1735, at the Black Horse Tavern, near the Old Dutch church. The ball opened with French dances,—the gavotte, the minuet, the courante, and the chacone,—all somewhat grave in their movement, and therefore suited to the stiff-starched fashion of both female and male attire. After this Mrs. Norris led down the country-dances. She was a daughter of Colonel Lewis Morris, and had married Captain Norris of H. M. S. Tartar, second son of Admiral Sir John Norris, an officer on the Atlantic station. Dancing assemblies met also at the City Arms once a fortnight during the gay season. In 1763 Charles McEvers and C. Duane were managers. Concerts, instrumental and vocal, were given here also. In 1765 Mr. Hulet announced a concert, and that "the first violin would be performed by a gentleman lately arrived," and a solo by the same hand (evidently an amateur), the other instrumental parts by gentlemen of the town. The dancing assembly was an idea of Edward Willett, the host of the Province Arms, and the subscription to each meeting was eight shillings.

A word as to costume. The day habits were plain enough, as the gentlemen were all busy and the housewives had no idle time on their hands in a population whose chief occupation seems to have been eating and drinking; but the evening dress was always of the very latest St. James cut. The men wore long-waisted coats of velvet, silk- or satin-lined, silver- or gold-embroidered, buttons of precious metal, cuffs



and jabots of rich Flemish or Spanish lace, long waistcoats of brilliant pattern, small-clothes, silk stockings, and diamond- or paste-buckled shoes; their gloves were white dressed leather, with lace trimmings; they had wigs or perukes; they carried cocked hats, and wore silver-hilted swords, which hung from richly embroidered sashes. In a word, they could ruffle it with the best of their English cousins. The ladies dressed their hair low or high according to the latest mode, wore stiff laced bodices, skirts with deep panniers, hooped petticoats of considerable width (though not as vast as those of the London dames, which blocked the passages), high-heeled colored shoes, and, later, slippers of dainty satin or white dressed kid. They carried fans of the latest pattern. The stuffs were rich, and heavily brocaded in bunches of gold and silver of the large English pattern. By day they were simple as Cinderella at the chimney-corner. Their gowns were of plain, sensible material, woolen or calico, made short, with aprons of linen; their hats small, their hoods quiet, and at home always a muslin cap. There was a vast variety of dress-goods from which to select, shipped from the four quarters of the globe. Of this we may judge from the first advertisement of Mr. Isaac Low, one of the leading dry-goods importers. On November 6, 1766, he announced in Holt's "New-York Journal" that he "has just imported an assortment of goods suitable to the season, consisting of coatings, broad-cloths, flannels, embossed serges; Paris-fans and half sticks, spotted ermine shalloons, satinets, callimancoes, oznabrigs, sheeting; Russia drilling donlass, garlix Callicoës, cottons, cambricks, lawns; both muslin taffatus, Persian cotton lungée and new silk romalls, bandannoes and women's gloves; worsted and cotton hose, &c., &c., which he will sell on the most reasonable terms at his store, between the Exchange and Coenties market. Imported since the above: A fresh assortment of beautiful checks and callicoës from the fountain head; Scots handkerchiefs, bed bunts, bed ticks, gartering, binding, &c." In 1768 he advertised flowered petticoating, silk corsets and Damascus silk Loretos, silk burdets and dressed deerskins.

Surely, as Judge Jones implies, these were times of Arcadian simplicity, days when, as our modern satirist would say, "Miss Flora McFlinsey had nothing to wear." Richard Norris, stay-maker from London, in 1771 advertised "all sorts of stays turned and plain, thick or thin, straw, cut French hips and German jackets after the newest and best manner." Any ladies uneasy in their shape he likewise fits without any incumbrance, all "by methods approved by the society of Stay makers in London." Rivington, the printer, advertised "Coque

de pearl necklaces, hair pins, sprigs and ear rings set round with marquises in a new taste : fine paste and stone shoe buckles from thirty-five shillings to ten pounds and lockets for the sweet remembrance from four shillings to three pounds." Nor were the men, like our German second cousins, willing that the fair sex should have all the glitter, as similar notices show. John Still, "an honest barber and peruke maker from London," who lived in Rosemary, announced, in 1750, "Tyes, full bottoms, Majors, Spencers, Fox tails, Ramalies, Tucks, Cuts and bob perukes"—quite a variety of headgear ; also "Ladies' Talemantongues and Towers after the manner that is now worn at court." The military costumes were brilliant. Scarlet with blue facings was the army color. Blue and white were given to the navy by George II.—"George the Victorious," as the loyal colonists called their fortunate king. The working-classes wore fustian or homespun stuffs, short coats or tunics with knee-breeches of corduroy, woolen stockings, and felt hats or caps of ordinary fur. The negroes affected color and wore garbs of not different pattern, but of motley hue.

Until 1762 the streets were lighted only by lanterns suspended from the windows, but in this year public lamps and lamp-posts were set up in the thoroughfares and lighted at the public expense. These were protected by a heavy fine inflicted on any one doing damage, as happened at the hands of the soldiers in the violent times of the stamp act. In this same direction the merchants proved themselves alive to their interests, by petitioning the assembly, in 1761, for the erection of a lighthouse at Sandy Hook. The funds were raised by lottery. It was completed and lighted for the first time in June, 1763. The latitude of the flag-bastion at Fort George was established for the Chamber of Commerce in October, 1769, by David Rittenhouse, one of the most celebrated scientific observers of the day.

The year 1768 has been selected as the central point about which to group the features of this local picture. It was a year of hope and promise. In this year the Chamber of Commerce, the first mercantile institution on the continent, was founded. Campbell, in his celebrated "Political Survey of Great Britain," thus describes the city : "The City of New-York is seated in 41 d. 42 m. north latitude. The road before it though inconvenienced with ice in very hard winters is notwithstanding always open—this with other circumstances renders it a place of great resort and a very extensive commerce. They export to the West Indies bread, peas, rye, meal, Indian corn, horses, sheep, beef, pork and at least eighty thousand barrels of flour ; their returns

are rum, sugar and molasses. They send provisions to the Spanish Main. They have a considerable share in the logwood trade; wheat, flour, Indian corn and lumber they send to London and Madeira. They have also a correspondence with Hamburg and Holland which A.D. 1769 amounted to £246,522. In the succeeding year the ships entered were 196, sloops 431; cleared outward, ships 188, sloops 424."

In the plan of New-York surveyed in 1766 and 1767 by Bernard Ratzer, the most northerly street on the west side of Broadway was Reade street; on the East River side, Catharine street. The line of Division street in the Out Ward stopped at Arundel street, and the line of the Bowery left its last laid-out cross-street at Bullock (now Broome) street. On the west side the road to Greenwich passed the estate of G. Harrison, Esq., the foundry, Lisperard's estate on the Lisperard meadows, the estate of Abraham Mortier, paymaster general of the royal army from 1758 to 1761, afterward known as Richmond Hill, and the estate of Lady Warren, widow of the admiral. In the rear of this property an inner road communicated with the estate of Oliver De Lancey, which was called the Monument Road because of a monument erected at its upper end to General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec. De Lancey's seat was on the river-side, and below this, in the order named, were those of William Bayard and of James Jauncey. The only seats situated on the East River side above Corlaer's Hook, or Crown Point Bend, and above the salt meadows, were those of Nicholas Stuyvesant, Gerard Stuyvesant, Peter Stuyvesant, J. Keteltas, and John Watts; and within, on the Bowery Lane, going northward from the city limits, the property of James De Lancey on the right, of Dyckman, Herring, and Andrew Elliot on the left, and of T. Tiebout and James Duane on the right. James Duane's farm was on the site of the present Gramercy Park.

In his references Ratzer names Fort George, seventeen churches, one synagogue, the City Hall, the Exchange, the prison (which stood on the common), the college, the theater, five markets (Fish, Old Slip, Fly, Peck's, Oswego), the upper barracks, the powder-house, the Jews' burial-ground (still at the head of Chatham), the lower barracks, and the artillery stores. The closely settled portion lay in the triangle from the North River at Reade street to the East River at Catharine street. Yet, though small, as Colden wrote to the home government, New-York was already the center of opinion as much as she was the strategic center of the continent.

THE MYTHICAL AND THE REAL JOHN SMITH.

That the final word has not been spoken on the subject of the Pocahontas myth, that there is still room for diversity of opinion in spite of Wm. West Henry's scathing attack on Capt. John Smith's assailants, must be granted by all who have taken an interest in this historical puzzle.

It is singular that for two hundred and fifty-two years after the alleged thrilling rescue of Smith there was not the slightest intimation that any doubt existed on this question, and this was first made by Mr. Chas. Deane, member of the American Antiquarian and Massachusetts Historical Societies in his Preface to "Wingfield's Discourse of Virginia," first published in Boston in 1860.

The question as to whether this one incident in the life of Smith is to be classified among Hans Andersen's and Grimm's fairy tales is a more important one than would on the surface appear. The well-known editor of Smith's writings, Edward Arber, in his Preface says that "Smith of Virginia without Pocahontas would be like William Tell without the Apple Story," and yet a curious case of self-contradiction made by this distinguished editor occurs, when on the very next page of his Preface, after enumerating Smith's mansidedness and the varied exploits for which he was distinguished, beginning with his Captaincy of the Artillery at Stuhlevessenberg and ending with his colonization in America, he says, "put all this beside the one single Pocahontas incident by which he is popularly remembered and we see that the real John Smith is a far greater man than the mythical one."

Besides being a most fascinating subject for study, the question involving Capt. Smith's veracity is, therefore, a most important one to be determined as bearing directly upon the trustworthiness of his character as a witness and narrator of the events in the early colonial history of our country.

In spite of the fact that in his address "on the early settlement of Virginia, with particular reference to the late attacks upon Capt. John Smith, Pocahontas and John Rolfe," delivered before the Virginia Hist. Society, Feb. 24, 1882, Mr. Henry demolishes those who "are content to act the part of copyists and sneer at Smith's veracity, not following his more generous task of making Smith's defence," we shall be

compelled, after carefully examining the plaintiff's own account of his experiences, to follow in the wake of those same contemptible copyists and be more truthful than generous. A long array of names, not including contemporaneous writers, are found in this battle of the pen both among those who have scouted the myth and those who have defended it. Leading among those who have taken a conservative stand, besides Mr. Henry, who has presented his subject in a most scholarly and lawyer-like fashion, are Arber, whose argument is very weak, and G. Ester Cooke, whose argument is still weaker.

On the other side, marked as distinctionists, besides Mr. Deane, who opened attack, are Charles Dudley Warner, whose book Mr. Henry wholly condemns, and Alexander Brown. It was Mr. Warner's original intention to write a humorous life of Capt. John Smith in the *Lives of the American Worthies Series*, which should, as he says, "treat the subject with some familiarity and disregard of historic gravity." "I did not anticipate," he goes on to say, "the seriousness of the task. Investigation showed me that while Capt. John Smith would lend himself easily enough to a purely facetious treatment, there were historic problems worthy of a different handling, and that if the life of Smith was to be written, an effort should be made to state the truth, and to disentangle the career of the adventurer from the fables and misrepresentations that have clustered about it." Mr. Warner, with the exception of one or two errors, notably that of misrepresenting Smith as standing in a quagmire discoursing to Indians on themes incomprehensible to the savage mind, unable to understand his language or be understood by him (p. 123, *Life of Smith*), has certainly accomplished the task set before him and has treated his subject from a serious point of view wherever difficult and purely historic questions became involved, as an examination of his life will abundantly attest. This is surely an unpardonable error, however, as Mr. Henry points out, but the whole *Life* is not to be condemned on that account. The following are Smith's own words in regard to the quagmire misrepresentation: "The Indian importuned me not to shoot. In retiring, being in the midst of a low quagmire, and minding them more than my steps, I slipt fast into the quagmire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth. Thus surprised, I resolved to trie their mercies: my arms I caste from me, till which none durst approach me. Being ceased on me, they drew me out and led me to the king. I presented him with a compasse diall, describing by my best meanes the use thereof: whereat he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundness of the earth, the

course of the sunne, mone, starres and plannets" (p. 15, "True Relations").

The extreme estimate of Smith's character as drawn by his friends and his enemies that he was either a charlatan or a saint, is probably not the correct or the just one. About midway between these two extremes would better characterize him.

It has been taken for granted in this hasty review of some of the points and names of those who have taken part in this discussion that the facts in our early colonial history clustering about this period are so familiar that no recital of them is here necessary.

It is sufficient to say that Smith came to Virginia in 1607, returning to England at the end of two years. In 1614 he made his first voyage to New England, an account of which is to be found in "A Description of New England" (p. 187). In London in 1608 was printed the first American book or pamphlet, called "A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last return from thence." Although several descriptions appeared on the title-page at different times, there is now no reasonable doubt as to its authenticity; Capt. Smith is always spoken of as its true author.

In Henry's defence he accuses Smith's assailants of basing their arguments upon the omissions in "True Relations," an accusation which could as reasonably be brought against himself. That there were omissions cannot be denied, but that the omitted parts were not intrinsically of value might be inferred from the fact that Smith lived many years after the publication of the pamphlet, and had he desired, could have at any time inserted whatever passages were originally in it and which were thought by him necessary for a correct understanding of the whole. The publisher, who signs himself I. H., after making due apologies for the error in attaching the wrong name to the book, says: "That somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be private) I would not advertise to make it publicke." As no idea is given as to the nature of these omissions, it is purest conjecture both on the part of Mr. Henry and others to attempt to surmise what they were, and if, as Mr. Henry asserts, "until the latter has been reproduced as Smith wrote it, it is simply absurd to attempt to build an argument against Smith's veracity upon its alleged omissions," it is equally illogical and absurd for Mr. Henry to base his arguments upon the same mutilated piece of writing. The main ground of attack has been upon this point.

Smith, through the whole of "True Relations," represents himself as being upon the most friendly terms with Powhatan and his tribe, and as far as is possible, we will let him speak for himself, allowing his own words to confirm this statement: "The Empereur Powhatan," he wrote, in 1608, "each weeke once or twice, sent me many presents of Deare, bread, Rangronghonns; half always for my fater (Capt. Newport) whom he much desired to see, and half for me: and so continually importuned by messengers and presents, that I would come to fetch the corne, and take the countrie their king had given me, as at last Capt. Newport resolved to go to see him.

"Such acquaintance I had amongst the Indians, and such confidence they had in me, as neare the Fort they would not come till I came to them; every of them calling me by name, would not sell anything till I had first received their presents, and what they had that I liked, they deferred to my discretion: but after acquaintance they usually came into the Fort at their pleasure" (p. 23).

In acknowledgment of certain assurances of friendship made by Smith, he goes on to say that "this so contented Powhatan as immediately with attentive silence, with a loud oration he proclaimed me *Awerowanes*, or subordinate chief, and that all his subjects should so esteem us, and no man account us strangers, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, weomen and Country should be to us as to his owne people" (pp. 25-26).

If, then, Smith was on such friendly and even intimate terms with Powhatan, what reason could be assigned for his capture? Only a sudden reversal of these relations, to which there is no reference, would at all explain such an act on Powhatan's part.

It is not until the end of "True Relations" that Smith makes any reference to Powhatan's famous daughter, and this is done in the briefest possible manner. "Powhatan, understanding we detained certain savages, sent his daughter, a child of tenne yeares old: which, not only for feature, countenance and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people: but for wit and spirit is the only *Nonpariel* of his country. This he sent by his most trusted messenger, called Ravenhurt, as much exceeding in deformitie of person; but of a subtile wit and crafty understanding.

"He, with a long circumstance, told me, how well Powhatan loved and respected me; and in that I should not doubt any way of his kinnesse, he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me" (p. 38).

Now this is the only reference to the princess Pocahontas made by

Smith at this time, and there is no allusion to the thrilling incident of the rescue either by Smith or his contemporaries. Such a silence is indisputably of significance. Henry explains it by saying that the incident was in all probability related by Smith in this book, but omitted by the publishers. That, however, can never be known. Had such been the case, would he not long years after, when it pleased him to relate the story in his letter to Queen Anne—about 1624—and also in his *General History*, (third book, p. 400,) have referred to its omission in his early writing?

It is not an incredible story, and had it actually occurred in 1608 what reasons could he possibly have had for withholding it are questions which continually beset the mind and remain unsatisfactorily answered. The common reason that the London Company did not wish the further colonization in America interfered with, and therefore caused the suppression of this little incident, does not strike one as even plausible. Does not internal evidence alone disprove the story and force one to the belief that it was an incident manufactured by a vain man for vainglorious reasons? "Fortunate is the hero who links his name romantically with that of a woman," was undoubtedly in the mind of Smith fourteen years after the event when it first occurred to him to cook up this incident out of more or less raw materials.

JESSICA GILBERT TYLER.



THE SHAYS REBELLION IN MASSACHUSETTS.¹

Never, since the Indians ceased to be a terror to New England, except in the year 1775, which saw the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill and the siege of Boston, has Massachusetts known so much of armed conflict within her own borders as was occasioned by the insurrection in 1786, known as the Shays Rebellion. Never, in all its history, has the government of that Commonwealth been in such imminent danger of overthrow. Indeed, the republic itself was imperilled; for, neither the causes nor the fact of discontent were confined to Massachusetts. Had the uprising of the discontented succeeded in that State it would have speedily crossed the borders in force; and where it would then have ended no one can say. The statesmen of the time, including Washington himself, were greatly alarmed, and anxiously urged the adoption of effective measures to prevent the spread of the disorder and to allay the discontent.

The situation was this. A long and costly war had taxed patriotism almost to death. Heavy as were the burdens of the Civil War, they did not at all compare with those of the Revolutionary War.

For eight years that struggle made incessant demands of men and money. Massachusetts had furnished one-third of all the effective forces of the war. The productive capacity of the State was, hence, greatly reduced, while the demands upon it were greatly increased in order to repair the wastes of war. The burden of public and private indebtedness was enormous. Besides its share of the national debt, some \$5,000,000, it had its own debt of more than \$4,000,000, besides \$600,000 due to the soldiers and officers it had sent to the war. Moreover, every town had been obliged to borrow money to pay bounties and furnish supplies to soldiers. Taxes were, therefore, high and difficult of collection. Besides the fact that the people were poor, there was little money to be had. By the close of the war the public credit was ruined. The Government promises to pay were valueless; and no substitute had been provided for this worthless continental currency. There was consequently no standard of value. Business was prostrate. Take, for example, the fisheries of Nantucket. Before the war they employed

¹ This article is a revision of an address on this chapter of history delivered before the Old Colony Historical Society, at Taunton, Mass., Jan. 9, 1893, and prior to that in many places in Western Massachusetts, by Rev. Payson W. Lyman, of Fall River.

150 sail and 2,500 seamen, and brought in not less than 167,000 pounds sterling a year. At the close of the war only 19 sail were employed.

With other articles of export the case was much the same. Meanwhile the prevailing spirit of luxury led to large importations. Hence the balance of trade was heavily against us. Consequently the country was subject to a constant drain of money. In this condition of things there was little demand for labor. Besides, the excitements of war had rendered many persons indisposed to a life of sober industry, and had fostered a spirit of adventure. Worse than all, private indebtedness had become very general, and very grievous in its weight.

On account of the harsh measures for collection which then prevailed these debts added greatly to the popular ferment. The Government, in order to meet the deficiency in money circulation, on the 3d of July, 1782, committed the mistake of making neat cattle and other private property legal tender for the payment of private debts, though it demanded money for taxes. This precipitated a conflict between creditor and debtor.

To make the matter still worse, there was at that time no law to secure the equitable distribution of an insolvent debtor's property among his creditors. It was "first come first served." Those who came late had little chance. Hence creditors would not wait long on a suspected debtor. The executions of creditors were levied in the order in which their attachments were made, and each creditor was satisfied in his turn, as long as the property held out. A man whose credit was suspected was, therefore, liable suddenly to find his property covered by attachments. In the condition of things then existing a very slight circumstance often excited suspicion. "Litigation became general. The State was deluged with executions. Large amounts of property were sold for almost nothing to satisfy them." Under the operation of the law requiring imprisonment for inability to pay debts, the jails were rapidly becoming filled with prisoners. As is too often the case, unreasoning men charged upon the Government responsibility for the state of things, and the officers of Government were stigmatized as public enemies. Sheriffs and lawyers were especially obnoxious, and a clamor arose against the courts of justice. Men, who had little to do but to brood over their grievances or to ventilate them in one another's ears, were fit subjects for the artful insinuations of demagogues who desired to rise into power on the wave of popular discontent, which discontent, it must be confessed, had no small supply of material on which to feed.

The earliest and most inveterate demagogue was Samuel Ely, a man who had been a preacher in Somers, Conn., but who was at length deposed from the ministry. He came over into Massachusetts, and made Old Hampshire County,—which then included the whole Connecticut Valley portion of the State,—the scene of his attacks on public order. He got together the people in conventions, and then used their declarations as a pretext for further fomentation of discontent. In April, 1782, he incited a mob, which attempted to prevent the session of the Court of Common Pleas at Northampton. For this act he was imprisoned in Springfield. While serving sentence he was released by a mob, three of whose ringleaders were arrested and imprisoned in the Northampton jail. A mob of 300 gathered at Hatfield with the intention of securing their release. Gen. Elisha Porter, of Hadley, promptly called out the militia of the county, who, to the number of 1,200, responded. The rioters demanded the release of the three imprisoned men, and their demand was conceded on their promise to deliver Ely to the authorities. This was in June, 1782.

Toward the end of May, 1783, a bold attempt was made to break up the session of the Court of Common Pleas in Springfield. About 60 men, armed with bludgeons, took up their stand before the door, to prevent the assembling of the court. The Sheriff expostulated with them without avail, whereupon the citizens, who had assembled, fell to with a will and put the rioters to rout.

Soon after this conventions of the disaffected began to be held, which, after discussion, usually put forth a bill of grievances. They disclaimed the intention to seek redress by violence, but their influence always was to feed the flame of discontent and revolt.

On September 27, 1783, following the Springfield riot, representatives of seven towns met in Deerfield, "to take into consideration the deplorable situation the people of the county and Commonwealth are in." They professed to see before them nothing but general and awful bankruptcy; and they concluded by calling a county convention at Hatfield, October 20th. To this call delegates from 27 towns responded. They discussed the situation with moderation, and recommended the people by regular industry to seek the means of meeting the burdens of government. But they held that the Government demanded the taxes too rapidly.

The long war had largely prevented the legal settlement of civil actions. Hence, at its close, litigation flourished. The trouble was aggravated by the worthless currency. The attempt to collect debts

by law made business good for lawyers, and in course of time greatly increased the number in the profession. As they were the instruments both of the creditor and the tax-gatherer, lawyers gradually became odious in the popular eye. Inflammatory articles against the map appeared in the newspapers. It was declared that their fees were exorbitant, and that they aggravated the public distress.

This feeling found active expression in the election of the Legislature of 1786. Many tried men, of large experience in legislation, were defeated by ignorant novices, for no other reason than that they were lawyers. Hardly a lawyer received an election. And this was the Legislature which had to deal with the rebellion when it was at its height. After warm discussion the House passed a bill admitting to the bar any person of good moral character, and regulating the fees of attorneys. The Senate refused to concur.

Notwithstanding their experience of the evils of paper money, a clamor arose for the emission of more. The majority of those who pressed for this measure were those who wanted the privilege of paying their debts in a cheap currency. They plainly asked that the currency be made irredeemable, that it should be depreciated at fixed rates until it should at length be extinguished, and that so the public debt should be paid. This rag money scheme was strongly urged in this Legislature of 1786. But the conservative sentiment finally prevailed, even in the House, and the project was negatived. The Senate stood most firmly in the way of revolutionary legislation; and hence, in the judgment of malcontents, it became a grievance to be abolished.

The anti-lawyer Legislature adjourned July 8, 1786. Five weeks later a Worcester County convention put forth a long bill of public grievances. A week later still, August 22d, the famous Hatfield convention was held, sitting three days, 50 towns of Old Hampshire County being represented. It put forth a full score of grievances in a tabulated list of 17, including the existence of the Senate and of the Courts of Common Pleas, the existing modes of representation, of paying governmental securities, of taxation, of collection, and of practice of attorneys-at-law, the want of sufficient medium of trade, and the session of the General Court in Boston. The convention asked the towns to instruct their representatives in the next Legislature to vote for a bank of paper money, subject to depreciation, which paper should be made a legal tender in all payments equal to silver and gold, demanded a revision of the Constitution, and called for an immediate session of the Legislature for the redress of grievances. At the same time they urged

the people to abstain from violence. But they lighted the fuse which led to the magazine, and their advice that it should not explode was not heeded. The explosion soon came. Their formidable arraignment of the courts and of the State Government made these bodies to be little else than election tyrannical engines for popular oppression. Among the people there were many who had been led by inflammatory appeal up to the point of readiness for violent resistance to regular legal process. "If the Courts of Common Pleas are a grievance," they reasoned, "why not abolish them?" "They had fought for liberty and they meant to have it." What liberty was, Luke Day, one of the leaders of the insurrection, told his men when haranguing them in West Springfield: "Liberty is for every man to do as he pleases, and to make other folks do as you please to have them and to keep folks from serving the devil."

Four days after the adjournment of the Hatfield Convention, August 28, 1786, the court was to sit in Northampton.

On that day a mob of some 1,500, variously armed, assembled and notified the gentlemen of the court that, as the people labored under divers grievances, it was "inconvenient" for the court to sit until there was an opportunity for redress. The court had no option, as the mob held its place of assembly. It therefore met in the public house and adjourned "without day." It is said that "one of the most sensible of the rioters" objected to the language used in adjournment, as under it, he alleged, the court might sit at night even if it had adjourned *sine die*. But no attempt was made to hold that or any other court, in Northampton, till the following May.

Gov. James Bowdoin at once issued his proclamation calling upon the civil and military officers of the Commonwealth, and upon all good citizens, to do their utmost to suppress such riotous proceedings. He also ordered an extra session of the Legislature.

But the malcontents paid little attention to the call of the Governor. The counties of Worcester, Middlesex, Bristol, and Berkshire were set in a flame and the tumult threatened to become general. In most or all of these counties conventions similar to that at Hatfield, were held with similar results.

Great anxiety filled the minds of statesmen throughout the whole country. Washington looked upon the proceedings with profound indignation and alarm. But the ball had got under way and was not to be easily stopped. Besides, the arm of the Governor was partly paralyzed by reason of the fact that the insurgent sentiments were shared by too

many of the militia to make that body, in all cases, reliable. The necessary inaction of the Government was favorable for the plans of the rioters.

The week following the Northampton affair, the court was to be held in Worcester. But at the time appointed the judges found at least 300 men on the ground to prevent the session. The court was stopped at the point of the bayonet.

Judge Artemus Ward, a Revolutionary General of distinction, harangued the crowd for nearly two hours, but without avail. The court was forced to adjourn without day. Courts were to be held shortly in Concord and Taunton. The Government, thinking that Concord was a favorable place for a trial of strength, ordered out the militia; but, on the agreement of the loyal citizens of Middlesex to hold the rioters in check, the order was revoked. The result was the intimidation of the court by a ragged mob of 300, who also committed outrages on such of the people as came within their lines.

In the county of Bristol the cause of the Government did not yield so easily. Notwithstanding the revocation of the order, the militia assembled under arms, being under command of Maj.-Gen. David Cobb, of Taunton, a Revolutionary officer, an aide and intimate friend of Washington, who was afterwards honored by the State as Speaker of the House, President of the Senate, and member of the Executive Council. Gen. Cobb was one of the judges of the Bristol court, whose session was menaced by the rioters; and it was on this occasion that he made his famous declaration, "Away with your whining. I will hold this court if I hold it in blood. I will sit as a Judge or die as a General." Going to the house of his brother, near the court-house, he donned his regimentals, mounted his horse, and took personal command of the militia. This show of force prevented any interference with the court, which, however, as a concession to the disaffected, adjourned without the transaction of any public business. This was Sept. 12, 1786.

Berkshire shared the general ferment. Though, at a convention in Lenox, the counsels of the friends of orderly reform had prevailed, when the court was to sit in Great Barrington, a mob of 800 assembled, prevented the session, abused the justices, compelling them to agree not to act as judges till grievances were redressed, broke open the jail and released the debtors there confined.

In the counties not already named, the ferment was less active; though everywhere out of Boston it is said that the rebels had substan-

tial control of the State. Neither party knew precisely the full extent of the insurgent spirit. Later investigation has led to the opinion that about one-third of the population were in more or less active sympathy with the rebellion.

The Legislature was to meet in special session Sept. 27th. This fact produced great activity on both sides. Up to this time the insurgents had not interfered with the sitting of the Supreme Judicial Court. But, as the grand jury reported to this court, they well knew that they were liable to indictment before it for treason. They therefore determined to prevent its next session at Springfield. On the other hand, the friends of order determined to uphold the Government at all hazards.

The command of the Government forces was given to Gen. William Shepard, of Westfield, who had served with distinction through the war of the Revolution, having been a trusted officer of Washington, and also a member of the Continental Congress. The leading spirits of the insurrection were Daniel Shays, of Pelham, and Luke Day, of West Springfield. Both had been captains in the Revolutionary army. Day had served honorably seven years, and was breveted a major. Shays had served four years, having done gallant service at the battle of Bunker Hill, at the storming of Stony Point, and in the campaign which compelled the surrender of Burgoyne.

On the Saturday evening before the approaching session, Gen. Shepard occupied the court-house with 120 men. His force grew to 600 by Tuesday, the day of the session. The insurgents began to muster on Sunday, and by Tuesday equalled in numbers the Government party, though not as well armed. Shays and Day mustered and controlled the malcontents who seemed eager for a collision, of which there was imminent danger. Though the rebels offered to disband on certain conditions, the court would enter into no agreement with them. The court was opened in due form; but, as jurors, witnesses, and parties to causes were mostly under arms, it adjourned on the third day without doing any business; and decided to hold no session in Berkshire. Thus the insurgent purpose was really effected. The court having adjourned, the Government forces were transferred to the Federal arsenal, which the rebels had threatened to seize. Being not yet ready to attack the Federal authority they soon dispersed.

At this juncture the Legislature came together in special session, and Gov. Bowdoin, in an earnest address, laid the situation before them. The Senate decidedly favored vigorous measures. But the House had

a strong party in more or less open sympathy with the insurgent sentiments. Petitions from towns and county conventions, formulating their grievances and praying for their redress, were received in large numbers. The Legislature singled out the most important, and proceeded to discuss measures of relief. Meanwhile the time came for the session of the Supreme Judicial Court in Taunton. The Legislature requested the Governor to give his most serious attention to the support of the session, which he did.

On the Sunday evening before the day appointed for the session, Gen. Cobb took possession of the court-house, with a small body of Taunton volunteers and a field-piece. During Monday and Tuesday he was largely reinforced by the militia of the region. The opening of the court was unopposed, though the insurgents were known to be rallying their forces. On Wednesday they marched to Taunton Green, about 200 strong, under Col. David Valentine, of Freetown, now Fall River. They were confronted by the Government forces drawn up in line of battle. The two forces faced each other in line for some three hours, but no collision occurred. The rioters demanded that the court papers be delivered up or burned. It is said that Gen. Cobb drew a line with his sword, saying to the rebel leader: "If you want these papers come and take them; but pass that line and I fire, and your blood be on your own head." At last, having received the answer of the court, the rioters dispersed, promising to return the next day. But they did not again appear, and on Friday the militia were dismissed.

On the following week this court met in Cambridge. Such preparations had been made to protect it that the insurgents dared not attempt any obstruction. The Government troops, more than 2,000 strong besides volunteers, were under command of Maj.-Gen. John Brooks, and were liberally supplied with artillery, besides small arms. This formidable force prevented all show of opposition.

Co-operating with the insurgent sympathizers in the Legislature were some aristocratic gentlemen who rejoiced in the prospect of the failure of republicanism, and desired, out of revolution, to build up an aristocratic form of government. But the plans of all these failed, for the reason that the energetic measures of the rebels in the western part of the State convinced the majority that they had dallied long enough. On the 23d of October, Shays addressed from his home in Pelham a note to the selectmen of each Hampshire town, calling upon them to arm the militia, furnish each man with 60 rounds of ammunition, and be ready to march at a moment's warning. This looked like a serious busi-

ness, and it spurred the Legislature to more vigorous action. They passed several acts designed to allay discontent, and issued an address to the people urging submission to authority. But they adjourned without providing money for military operations, though the rebellion was now under full headway. The leniency of the General Court, as thus indicated, was ascribed to cowardice; and the rebel leaders lashed on their followers to still further acts of lawlessness.

The adjournment of the Legislature was at once followed by a Worcester County Convention, which, though seeking to *allay*, really *aggravated* the ferment. While it was in session, the holding of the Court of Sessions was prevented by 150 armed men, who refused the court admittance to its hall of assembly. Sheriff Greenleaf, of Lancaster, remonstrated warmly with them; to no purpose. One of the leaders of the riot told him that the people sought relief for grievances and that among the most intolerable of the grievances, was the Sheriff himself, and that next to his person in offensiveness were his fees, particularly in criminal execution. "If you consider my fees for criminal executions oppressive," said the Sheriff facetiously, "you need not wait long for redress, for I will hang every one of you with the greatest pleasure, and without charge."

This was Nov. 21, 1786. From this time on, events hastened to a bloody culmination. The Court of Common Pleas was to be held in Worcester, Dec. 5th. On the Sunday evening before, a large party of insurgents took possession of the court-house. Gov. Bowdoin therefore ordered the court adjourned to Jan. 23d. By Wednesday Shays occupied Worcester with 1,000 men. On Thursday they retired to Rutland, where some of them remained, while others returned to their homes; some being frozen to death on their way, the winter being the severest which had been experienced for many years. With 300 men Shays marched to Springfield, and, taking possession of the court-house, prevented the session of the Court of Common Pleas, Dec. 26th. Springfield had been regarded as the Government stronghold in the Connecticut valley. The fact of an uncontested insurgent victory there created great surprise and alarm throughout the State. The wise and patriotic feared that the political fabric, which had cost so much blood, was about to be overthrown. The spirit of rebellion was infecting other States. A mob had already surrounded the Legislature of New Hampshire and demanded a paper currency.

Though resolute and faithful the Governor and Council were powerless, having no money to pay troops. In this emergency some of the

business men of Boston offered a sufficient loan, trusting to the Legislature for reimbursement. A levy of 4,400 men, 1,200 each from Worcester and Hampshire, was then immediately ordered. The Eastern troops were to rendezvous near Boston, those of Worcester at Worcester, and those of Hampshire at Springfield.

Maj.-Gen. Benjamin Lincoln was placed in supreme command. He had done conspicuous service through the entire Revolutionary war, from the siege of Boston to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, where he had the honor, by Washington's appointment, to receive the sword of Cornwallis. He was two years Federal Secretary of War, and was the first Collector of the Port of Boston. He was indeed one of the noblest characters of the Revolutionary period.

The court which had been broken up at Worcester was to meet there Jan. 23, 1787, and Gov. Bowdoin determined to protect it at all hazards. The Eastern troops met at Roxbury, Jan. 19th, and set out at once for Worcester through the deep snow. They joined the Worcester force on the 22d. They met no opposition, as the insurgents had resolved on an immediate trial of strength at Springfield, where Gen. Wm. Shepard was in command of the Hampshire troops. Thither all eyes turned. The Federal arsenal was held to be the key to the situation. It was well supplied with artillery and small arms, of which the insurgents were in great need. But Gen. Shepard with the Hampshire militia was in possession.

On the evening of Jan. 24, 1787, the position of the forces was as follows: Gen. Shepard was at the arsenal with 1,000 men or more; Shays had just reached Wilbraham, 10 miles east, on his march from Rutland with 1,100 men; Lincoln was only two days in his rear and making all haste; Luke Day had 400 men quartered in West Springfield, just across the river, which was frozen over; Eli Parsons, a Berkshire leader, had 400 men in the north parish of Springfield, now Chicopee.

The insurgents had thus 1,900 men within striking distance of the arsenal. The women and children mostly fled to Longmeadow, four miles down the river. It was vital to insurgent success to dislodge Shepard before Lincoln could come up. Reaching Wilbraham, Shays sent to Day asking his aid in an attack on Shepard the next day, Jan. 25th. Day replied that he must wait till the 26th. Fortunately for the Government the messenger was intercepted on his way back to Shays. Thus Shepard learned the intentions of his antagonists, and foiled their concert of action.

I. Wilbraham the friends of the Government had agreed to send

Deputy Sheriff Asaph King to inform Shepard of the movements of Shays. As soon as Shays started on the morning of the 25th, mounted on a splendid young horse, King started across the fields. The snow, knee-deep to his horse, was covered with a sharp crust. When he came out upon the road the legs of his horse were streaming with blood. But he was quite in advance of Shays. Putting spurs to his horse, he reached the arsenal in 45 minutes from his start. This gave Shepard his first exact information as to the position and purpose of Shays. He lost no time in arranging for the reception of the insurgents, planting his cannon so as to command the Boston road with infantry in support. A detachment were posted so as to confront Day in case of his approach.

It was not till nearly four o'clock that the head of the rebel column appeared. Determined to avoid bloodshed if possible, Shepard sent his aide, Maj. Lyman, and Capts. Buffinton and Woodbridge to ascertain his purpose and warn him of the danger of approach to the Government lines. Shays demanded that his men should be lodged in the Government barracks, but was peremptorily refused. When within 250 yards of the arsenal his troops were halted. In his report Shepard says: "I immediately sent Maj. Lyman, one of my aides, and Capt. Buffington, to inform him not to march his troops any nearer the arsenal, on his peril, as I was stationed there by order of the Governor and Secretary of War, for the defence of the public property. In case he did, I should certainly fire upon him and his men." Shays thereupon set his column in rapid motion, advancing near a hundred yards. "I then ordered Maj. Stephens, who commanded the artillery, to fire upon them. The two first shots he endeavored to overshoot them, in hope they would have taken warning without firing among them; but it had no effect. Maj. Stephens then directed his shot through the center of the column. The fourth or fifth shot put the column in the utmost confusion. The men turned and fled, leaving three dead and a fourth mortally wounded. With headlong haste they retreated several miles till they could find lodgings."

On the next day, Shays effected a junction with the Berkshire force under Eli Parsons at Chicopee, though on his way thither he lost 200 of his men by desertion. With these Day's force could easily have co-operated. Shepard expected an attack from the combined force, but he was unmolested. By noon of the 27th all danger was averted by the arrival of Lincoln's main force. After a brief halt, his infantry and artillery crossed the river on the ice to meet Day, while the force

under Gen. Shepard moved up the river on the east side toward Chicopee to meet Shays and Parsons. The cavalry hastened up the river on the ice to prevent this junction of Shays and Day. On the approach of Lincoln's troops, those of Day fled with little or no show of resistance. Their flight was so precipitate that they threw away whatever would encumber it. A few were captured by the light horse, but the most escaped, reaching Northampton that night. The force with Shays made no stand at all, but retreated up the river on the east side, through South Hadley to Amherst, his men, in spite of his efforts, plundering as they went to supply their immediate needs.

Gen. Lincoln recrossed the river, after the flight of Day, and joined Shepard in the pursuit of Shays and the main body of the insurgents.

Before the Government troops reached Amherst, Day, with greatly reduced numbers, had crossed the river from Northampton and joined Shays and his fugitive force, who did not cease their retreat till the home of Shays in Pelham was reached. Lincoln then led his chilled and wearied troops to Hadley for shelter and rest.

For several succeeding days hostilities were suspended pending the result of negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the matters at issue. The Government authorities demanded the dispersion of the insurgents, and promised the privates a recommendation to mercy, on condition of taking the oath of allegiance within ten days. Shays continued the parley, in the hope to secure more favorable terms for the officers. At length, finding that desertions were frequent, he determined to lead his men further from their homes. By a misleading message he sought to throw Lincoln off his guard, and started his troops on a march from their encampment on the east and west hills of Pelham to Petersham. But Lincoln was too suspicious to be thus eluded. At 6 P.M. of Feb. 3d, he became convinced of Shays' intention to escape. In two hours his men, with three days' rations, were in pursuit. Their route lay through Amherst, Shutesbury, and New Salem. The night was extremely cold. When at Shutesbury a violent north wind arose and intensified the cold. A snow-storm also greatly aggravated the situation. As their way led over bleak and thinly peopled hills there was no chance for shelter. The cold was too intense to allow a stop for refreshment. They therefore advanced the whole thirty miles with scarcely a halt. By 9 A.M. the light horse, followed by a company of artillery and two field pieces, entered Petersham. The surprise of the insurgents was indescribable and complete. Rushing for a back road leading to Athol, they were pursued some two miles, and 150 of them were captured. Many

of those who escaped made their way to their homes, while others fled across the State borders into New Hampshire, Vermont, and New-York. The prisoners on taking the oath were sent home. Two or three days later Shays was at Winchester, N. H., with 300 men.

Minot characterizes this march from Hadley to Petersham as "one of the most indefatigable marches that was ever performed in America."

The scattered forces of the rebellion constituted themselves into predatory bands which overran Western Massachusetts, and for months kept the Government troops alert and busy. They were everywhere put to rout. Retreating across the borders they would watch their opportunity for a descent on some unprotected point. This was particularly true of Berkshire. At length the authorities of the neighboring States, yielding to the representations of Gov. Bowdoin, refused the insurgents harbor, and thus their forays came to an end.

The Government then turned its attention to the trial of the more important offenders, and they also sought to determine what real public grievances required redress. Supreme judicial courts were ordered in Hampshire, Berkshire, Worcester, and Middlesex. Fourteen persons were found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. Many others were convicted of lesser offenses, and received various sentences. Eig.⁴ of the fourteen speedily received Executive pardon. Jason Parmenter and Henry McCulloch were two or three times led forth to execution. The Government thus demonstrated its power to carry the sentence into effect. The sentence was, however, finally commuted to perpetual disfranchisement.

In the midst of the judicial settlement of the affair a new administration came into power, John Hancock, whom Gov. Bowdoin had succeeded, being re-elected against him. But, in all important particulars, Gov. Hancock endorsed the policy of his predecessor, thus dispelling the hope that some of the malcontents had built on a change of administration. At length the leading rebels, Shays and Parsons included, voluntarily sought pardon, with humble confession of their fault, and promise of future loyalty. The Legislature of 1788 declared indemnity to all persons concerned in the rebellion not convicted thereof, who would take the oath, except that they were still liable to private suit for damage sustained at their hands, and except, further, that the nine persons excluded from a previous act of indemnity were forever disqualified from holding civil or military office. On the 13th of August the Government force was reduced to 200, and on the 12th

of September, of the same year that saw the attack on the arsenal, the last soldier was discharged.

Thus was a formidable insurrection quelled by a wise and firm use of constitutional power, by a firm but temperate use of the military arm, but without the taking of any life by judicial order.

To Gov. James Bowdoin great praise is due for his promptitude and firmness in the use of the power entrusted to him, whereby he was able to defend from violent overthrow the newly-established constitutional government, which had cost so much toil, treasure, and blood.

His policy was justified by its results, and also by the conduct of the administration chosen to supersede his own. His great task was accomplished in the face of a people deeply pervaded with seditious sentiments, and of a Legislature reluctant to coerce.

This singular and important chapter in our early National history is valuable as a warning, both to the persons entrusted with the functions of government, and to malcontents. On the one hand care should be used to redress any wrongs under which the people may suffer, and to lift from them all needless burdens. On the other hand, burdens should be borne with patience and with patriotism, rather than that resort should be had to violent measures to secure redress. These occurrences teach forcibly the evils of a depreciated or irredeemable currency; they warn us not to overload ourselves with needless public or private debt; and they teach that we should suffer some real grievances rather than proceed to violent measures, until all constitutional means of securing redress have been faithfully tried, without avail. We see also that men, sobered by the responsibility of power, often find the measures of previous administrations not so far wrong as they, when acting the part of political critics without full knowledge of the situation, have imagined. We should learn that a fiery temper is not the mood in which to approach the revision of constitutions and statute-books; and that patient endurance of ills, honesty, and industry open to us the best method of escape from the burdens of hard times. In fine, we ought to thank God that He gave success to the effort to preserve the new-born Commonwealth from its misguided sons who were seeking to throttle it, and that He gave the authorities wisdom so to mingle firmness and mercy, and so to right existing wrongs, that, not only were the misguided prevented from their purpose to subvert the State, but were restored to the standing of loyal citizens.

Thus may it ever be, in the event of hostile uprisings against constituted authority in any section of this Republic or State.

THOMAS, LORD FAIRFAX.

It is an old and well-authenticated tradition in the Valley of Virginia, that in 1750, on a beautiful October day, there met at Shawnee Springs, near the present site of the town of Winchester, three men who represented three distinct types of civilization. Their object was the peaceful solution of the problem of how the English Lord, proprietor of all the great "Valley," holding his title from the King of Great Britain, could dispose of his land to active settlers and invite immigration to come to stay; "how the Indians who had for years camped every summer at these immense gushing fountains, could be legally and peaceably deprived of their vested rights; and how George Washington, the Surveyor-General of Lord Fairfax, born on these lands, an English subject, could safely act as neutral, do justice to both, and having the confidence of both, could quietly and peacefully settle this momentous affair." It never was settled, and the Indian War of 1754 ensued. Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, called the "Old Scotch Lord" by the Buckskins of the valley, had come to Virginia on his first visit to look after his grant of all the land and water between the head waters of the Rappahannock and the Potomac. The head springs of the latter stream, which Washington had made plain by his surveys, were far up in the mountain chain of the Alleghanies, and not, as was supposed, east of the Blue Ridge. By his survey, the Northern Neck comprised 570,000 acres. This Thomas, Sixth Lord Fairfax, was a tall, gaunt, raw-boned, grum-visaged man of fifty-seven; a man of strong, determined character, a gentleman born and bred of the fighting race of Fairfax. From his mother's side (the accomplished daughter of Lord Culpepper) he inherited her "dowry," the above-mentioned grant, and led the life of a man of pleasure, was well known in the clubs in London, and a contributor to *The Spectator*. He made ready to marry an English heiress, the preparations were complete, and the invitations had been issued, when she changed her mind and wedded another. So great was his chagrin and mortification that he disappeared from the world of London, became a hard, saddened recluse, and turned to the "New World," where among the colonists and the Indians he hoped to find quiet and peace.

In 1749 he came over from England by vessel up the Potomac to

Belle Haven, now Alexandria, where his cousin, the Rev. Wm. Fairfax, had charge of the parish church of the colonists, the same church which Mary Washington and her son George, then but 17 years old, attended. There, Lord Fairfax made the acquaintance of Washington, who had even then made some reputation as county surveyor, of Westmoreland, and what is now Fairfax County; and desirous of knowing the exact boundaries of his domain, young Washington was engaged to start out in the unexplored wilderness of the valley and to trace the Potomac to its source. This resulted in making the boundary of the vast estate far to the northwest, where is now planted (and has been for over a century) the famous "Fairfax stone," the fountain-head of the Potomac, yet standing, marking the boundary between West Virginia and Maryland. Making his report after nearly one year's work, Washington induced the lord and proprietor to visit the valley, and at "Shawnee Springs" they met the Indians. Their chief, Cornstalk, could come to no terms, for the Indians claimed the eternal right to hunt there as their forefathers had done. But they parted friends, the Indians receiving many presents, and promising to come and visit Lord Fairfax every year.

Lord Fairfax, struck with the beauty and fertility of the valley, located his "Land Office" and residence at a country seat about five miles from the Shenandoah, called "Greenway Court," marking the approach to it by a "blazed road" and a post hewn square, where two "trails" crossed, and had it painted white, and even to this day the two hundred inhabitants of the hamlet of "White Post" keep the post at the same crossing, and religiously have it painted white every year. On it was the direction and distance to Greenway Court.

Returning to England, Lord Fairfax made arrangements for a final departure, selling out and bringing over to Belle Haven by ship, and transporting by wagon, all his personal possessions: a fine library, the books of which are now in every library in the valley, having been sold and scattered at his death; his guns, dogs, horses, saddles, and riding boots. Parenthetically, I may state that for many years, from 1791, there was owned and kept in a Winchester family (that of the late worthy Dr. Stewart Baldwin) the most gigantic and solid pair of riding boots I ever yet have seen; the heels were three inches high, the soles an inch thick, studded with wrought-iron nails, the tops stiff unyielding leather, and locked around them was a pair of huge spurs. The tops of the legs, as stiff as leathern buckets, came up to the knees, and while the front reached half-way to the thighs, the back was scooped

out to accommodate the bended leg in the saddle; they are the exact counterpart of those one sees in the pictures of the old Cromwellian soldiers, worn in the wars of the cavaliers and Roundheads, and called "jack boots." They are yet to be seen, though the spurs were taken by some of General Milroy's soldiers; tradition says that General Milroy took them himself.

The present owner of Greenway Court, immediately after the war, while tearing down an old chimney, found in a recess a rapier, with silver-mounted scabbard. The blade was in the form of a triangular prism ending in a sharp point; the hilt, basket shape, of polished steel; he sold it to George W. Childs, of Philadelphia, for \$150. The weapon looked "business-like." It was evidently no "court" or "dress parade" arm. So well tempered was it that I saw it bend nearly at right angles by pressing the point on a block of wood. The scabbard has the Culpepper "coat of arms," so it evidently came from the maternal branch of Lord Thomas.

Settling down on an estate of ten thousand acres, at Greenway Court, Lord Fairfax lived the life of an English country gentleman. He hunted the buffalo, which then roamed in the Alleghanies, the deer and the fox. He had on the level top of the Blue Ridge, just above where the Manassas Gap Railroad passes through the mountains, a fine clearing of 400 acres, and built a massive two-story house, using it as one of his hunting lodges. On November 17, 1749, he appeared in "Fredericktown," afterwards called Winchester (from the old English town of the same name, meaning in Saxon, the "White City," or called by Romans "Venti Castra"), the "windy camp," and in the presence of the three justices, or magistrates, The Right Hon. Thomas, Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and lord proprietor of the "North Neck," of Virginia, produced his commission from the King as County Lieutenant, and was as such sworn in, becoming the presiding justice. He attended their sessions with the utmost regularity, riding up to Winchester, twelve miles, once a month. He laid out and named the old burgh of Winchester, deeding to it the public square, and dividing it into three parts, one to the courthouse and jail, one to the market-house, and the other third to the established Episcopal Church. This division and arrangement stood to a late day. He named the streets from those of old London, Pall Mall, Cork, Cameron, Prince, and King. He also named the adjacent county Hampshire, and its county seat Romney. Here occurs in American history the first use of the word "addition," as applied to a

part of a town. When the town was laid out and incorporated in 1742 by Lord Fairfax, he made one of the old English customs one of the conditions—to each town lot was attached an out lot, sold with it, and not to be separated by an act of sale—an arrangement which lasted until after the Revolution, caused a great deal of disturbance, and the law had to be annulled by the State. The valley owes him much for the improved blooded stock, horses, cattle, and hogs, which he brought over at great expense, and was very liberal in introducing. At that day the only road worthy of being called a road was from Belle Haven (now called Alexandria) to the gaps of the Blue Ridge. In the valley there was none; there were no wheeled vehicles in general use, except those the wealthy used, the two-wheeled chairs or sulkies. Two broad "trails" led across the valley from east to west; one from "Ashby's Gap," in the Blue Ridge, to "Buffalo Gap," in the Alleghanies; the other from "Snickers' Gap" to "Hoop Petticoat Gap," in the North Mountains. These were originally buffalo trails and Indian paths, and used by the whites for their pack-horses; all travelling and transportation was done on the backs of horses; salt and iron were the principal needs; and iron bars were bent to the pack-saddles by rings in huge logs before every merchant's doors. The men and women travelled on horseback too, the latter generally riding behind on a pillion. On the route from Belle Haven to the gap of the Blue Ridge there was a road passable in good weather for the heavy cumbersome wagons; which brought sugar, salt, iron, coffee, and tea; they carried back for sale, ginseng, furs, feathers, wax, and whiskey. The "old laird," with his love for the good English roads, set the example by making a broad highway to and from his plantation, and encouraged in the county court, as presiding justice, all efforts at bettering the roads of the county by his liberal subscription. His English saddles, harness, and vehicles served as the best models and were copied by the artisans greedily.

The French and Indian war of 1750 breaking out, the country was raided by the hostile tribes, and all settlements were impeded, but the "old laird" had made friends with the savages and was never molested. Against all warnings and protestations, even from Washington himself, he remained in Greenway Court, fearless and pursuing his unbroken mode of life. He had a number of Indian guides and hunters as retainers who remained faithful and protected him. To the young George Washington the old laird seemed to take instant fancy that grew into the highest admiration, and finally the highest respect, a respect that lasted throughout all the vicissitudes of a revolution for which

the elder had no sympathy, but entire confidence in the ultimate success of its leader. Royalist as he was, born and bred to the belief of the divine right of his kings, holding his title and estate by acts of the rulers of the very country which was endeavoring to maintain its supremacy over the revolting colonies, it was believed by many that he would have preferred to see England worsted in a half dozen such struggles rather than to have witnessed the downfall of the great general who had been his protégé in youth, a friend in declining years, and who always accorded to the self-exiled lord the deference due to his age and position. When Major-General Braddock came to Winchester with one wing of his army, Washington was on his staff; and tradition relates that they exchanged visits, and that Lord Fairfax fitted out Washington with his staff horses. In 1755 he assisted Washington (who at that time had been appointed by Governor Dinwiddie, Colonel Commandant of all the forces of Virginia) to build Fort Loudoun, the nucleus of Winchester. When all the Indians had been driven away, the settlers came in great numbers and visited his land office, to whom he sold and literally gave away acres by the thousand, doing everything to encourage settlement. One, Robert Carter, called "Black King Carter," foreseeing the value of these lands, made his heirs comfortable in the possession of a hundred thousand acres purchased by him for a mere song. "Leeds Manor," of 25,000 acres, and "Lester Manor," of 30,000, were purchased subsequently by the Marshalls, Colstons, and other old families. To every bona fide settler he absolutely gave tracts of from two to 400 acres, and one, Betsy Milholland, called attention to the number of her name, obtaining immense tracts in this manner. Further investigation proved that the indefatigable female had given her patronymic to every horse, cow, sheep, and hog she possessed, and registered them as actual settlers.

There are many deeds in the clerk's office of Frederick County now, which lease for 999 years, or given in perpetuity so many thousand acres on the annual payment of one grain of barley-corn on the feast of the Archangel Saint Michael, now called Michaelmas Day. He was of course a loyalist, as he was born in the belief of the divine right of kings. He had decided convictions and opinions. He had been brought up in Revolutionary times and had early imbibed high notions of liberty and of the excellence of British rule, but his life was so exemplary, both in public and private, and he was so generally beloved and respected, that residing on his estate during the entire term of the Revolutionary War he was never disturbed or molested by either party.

When in his ninetieth year he was informed of the surrender of Cornwallis and the close of the Revolution, which his friend Washington had carried to such a brilliant close, he retired to his chamber, went to his bed, and saying to his body-servant, "Turn me over, my face to the wall; it is time for me to die; let me do so undisturbed." This was the manner and time of his death, alone and in peace. His remains were carried in great style, as became his position, followed by all of his neighbors, along the road to the Episcopal church in the town of Winchester, and there, removing the pavement under the communion table, they dug his grave and deposited his remains. A table in the wall, which was originally placed in the pavement, records the fact that "under this church, which he built and endowed, lie all that is mortal of Thomas 6th Lord Fairfax, died June, 1781," above which is the coat of arms of the Fairfax family and the motto, "Fare Fac." Leaving no direct heirs, he willed all of his property to his nephew, Denny Dryan Martyn, who lived at "Greenway Court" in a rude and plenteous style, and died a few years after in 1808.

Situated on a sloping hillside stood Greenway Court, a long, low building constructed of the native limestone, one story in height, with dormer windows, with two wooden belfries, chimneys studded with swallow and martin coops, and a roof sloping down in the old Virginia fashion into low projecting eaves that formed a veranda the whole length of the house. It was probably the house originally occupied by his steward or land agent, but now devoted to hospital purposes and the reception of guests. As to his lordship, it was one of the many eccentricities that he never slept in the main building, but lodged apart in a wooden house not much above twelve feet square. Not a nail is said to have been used in this house in its construction, except in placing the shingles on the roof. The four-cornered posts were hewn square, and in two sides of each ran a groove longitudinally. The logs for the walls were also square, and at each end they fitted into the grooves, forming a kind of dovetailing, and making the house as firm as a stone wall. This mode of construction, used frequently at the period when the above structure was erected, has been the means of preserving so many of the earliest buildings in the valley, notably this one still standing. Here in this comparative wilderness settled down the former gay and luxurious Lord Fairfax; but it must not be supposed he lived the life of a recluse. He did not shut himself up and brood over his bitter memories. He was a man of affairs. When relieved from the business attending the many sales and transfers of his immense estate he would

hunt in company with his neighbors. He took his hounds from one section of the county to the other whenever his fancy or better sport led him. He entertained liberally every gentleman of good character, whether rich or poor, and was generous almost to a fault. His own wants were few, living, as he did, plainly and substantially. Dr. Barnaby, one of the earliest of English tourists, visited Lord Fairfax at Greenway Court in 1760, and in an appendix to his travels, published after his lordship's death, the following facts are to be found: "His dress corresponded with his mode of life. He had every year new suits of clothes of the most fashionable kind sent out to him from England, which he rarely put on; he was plain in the extreme. His manners were humble, modest, and unaffected, not tinctured in the smallest degree with arrogance, pride, or self-conceit. The produce of his farm, after what was necessary for the consumption of his own family, was given away to the poor planters and settlers in the neighborhood. To these he frequently advanced money to enable them to go on with their improvements, to clear away the woods and cultivate the ground; he was a friend and father to all who held and lived under him." Lord Fairfax had not been brought up in revolutionary principles, and had early imbibed high notions of the liberty and of the excellence of the British Constitution; but so unexceptional and disinterested was his behavior, both public and private, and so generally was he beloved and respected, that during the late contest between Great Britain and America he never met with the least insult or molestation from either party. His early disappointment in love was thought to have excited in him a general dislike for the sex, in whose company, unless he was particularly acquainted with the parties, it is said he was reserved and under evident restraint and embarrassment. Who the fair one was will never be known, for Lord Fairfax, carefully and with the consideration of an honorable gentleman, effaced the signature of the lady from the marriage contract, leaving only his own. This is an attested fact, for some years ago the old parchment was exhumed from a garret.



GOD'S CANDLE.

Grand Cathedral dimly lighted
By the wondrous Yucca plant ;
Here the Padres' faith is plighted
While they march and pray and chant.

Cathedral dome of Heaven's own blue,
Arched with oak, pillared by pine,
Altars of granite washed with dew,
Moss-draped, lichened this sacred shrine.

While the Yucca, God's candle, burns,
Sweetest incense fills the air
From flower-cup censers, swinging urns
Fringed and fashioned in forms so rare.

Sweet-voiced songsters, birdlings and brook
Join in chanting wildwood praise ;
Echoed soft from many a nook
By wind-swept harps of olden days.

Thus the Padres of long ago
Marched and bowed, prayed and chanted,
Making friends of Indian foe,
Building missions by the candle God planted.

ALTHEA G. DOWNS.

NOTE.—In travelling from San Francisco to Southern California I fancied the tall Yucca plants, rising from six to twelve feet high in the mountain passes and on alkali plains, were God's candles, placed there to light the Spanish Padres on their way to the fertile valleys below where a hundred years ago they founded the famous missions and converted the Indians. In fancy these candles lighted the wooded aisles of nature's vast Cathedral where they prayed and chanted.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

DE BRY'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF HARIOT'S NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST PLANTATION OF VIRGINIA.

A curious exhibit is given herewith, selected from illustrations, executed in copper by the celebrated De Bry and published in 1590, which represent the American Indians of the North Carolina coast, as observed by the English adventurers who comprised Sir Walter Raleigh's brief plantation on Roanoke Island, in 1585. A brief reference to that attempt may not be out of place as an introduction to the sketches.

It is well known that by virtue of the voyages of the two Cabots, John and Sebastian, along the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland, the English laid claim to the continent of North America. Yet so long as the British monarchs were good Catholics, with whatever envious eyes they might look on, they could not well defy the Papal Bull which had partitioned all the vast territories of the "New World" between Spain and Portugal. But under Elizabeth the English were enfranchised from this restraint, and, brought into the ranks of Protestant nations, a period followed, as is well known, characterized by great activity in discovery, exploration, and conquest.

Yet for some decades, many efforts were wasted in foolish expeditions in quest of gold—several of them being attempts about Hudson's Bay and Labrador. The famous Sir Walter Raleigh was the first to make practical efforts looking to colonization, and hence real possession, of the new lands. That his well-meant attempts failed of permanent results was due to perverse and untoward circumstances which ill requited his energy and enthusiasm.

Raleigh's first effort was a signal calamity which would have utterly abashed a less determined spirit. In 1583, the first expedition set sail under the command of Sir Walter's step-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The intent was distinctly colonization, and every preparation had been made to insure success. As Bancroft well remarks: "Some part of the United States would have then been colonized but for a succession of overwhelming disasters." This series of calamities culminated in the foundering of the flag-ship of the expedition, with all on board, including the ill-fated Gilbert. The other vessels turned back with the sad tidings.

But Raleigh was not discouraged. He secured another and similar patent from the Queen, and in 1584 sent forth two other vessels, under

the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow. They sailed by way of the Azores and the West Indies, and thus approached the coast of the United States from the south. They made land off the Carolinas, anchoring in Pamlico Sound, July 4, 1584, a few leagues below Roanoke Island. It was a prime season of the year to get a good impression of the surroundings, and the voyagers were delighted. "We smelt," writes Barlow, "so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate gardens abounding with odoriferous flowers." Nevertheless both ships returned to England, with glowing accounts indeed—but with all the professed colonizers on board. Either their hearts had failed them at the last, or more likely they were mostly mere adventurers, glad to avail of a chance to see the new country, but with no thought of really remaining there.

But their eulogies, soon spread abroad throughout all England, made it easy for Raleigh to secure recruits for a third attempt; and in April, 1585, no less than seven vessels set out from Plymouth, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. On June 26th, following, the fleet cast anchor just inside Ocracock Inlet, a considerable distance from Roanoke Island. The island was visited, later on, and Grenville at length returned to England, having left a colony behind him on Roanoke, with Ralph Lane as its Governor. The colonists remained a year, and it was during this time that Virginia Dare, the first white American, was born. Little was accomplished except a few expeditions inland and explorations of the adjacent coast line, and when Sir Francis Drake touched at the Island, the following summer, the planters prevailed upon him to carry them back to England. Several other expeditions followed, one of them resulting in the mysterious "lost colony of Roanoke"; but it was this attempt of 1585, with its year's experience for the colonists, with which we have to do on this occasion.

While little was accomplished by this half-hearted experiment, fortunately there were, among the colonists, a careful observer and writer, and a good artist. The former was Thomas Hariot, the latter was John "White" or "With," as it is variously spelled. Hariot's observations, drawn up and published in his famous "Narrative of the First Plantation of Virginia in 1585," has been the chief source of information for historians concerning this episode ever since, and is the earliest testimony in respect to the fauna, flora, and aborigines of the United States.

Says Bancroft: "The keenest observer was Thomas Hariot. He carefully examined the productions of the country, those which would

furnish commodities for commerce, and those which were in esteem among the natives. He observed the culture of tobacco; accustomed himself to its use, and believed in its healing virtues. The culture and the extraordinary productiveness of maize especially attracted his admiration; and the tuberous roots of the potato, when boiled, were found to be very good food."

Hariot's "Narrative" was first published in 1588, and of that first edition only four copies are known to be extant. It is estimated that a fifth copy, if one could be found, would command a market value of not less than \$2,500. This edition was not illustrated, however, and it is from another edition of the work, published in Germany two years later, in 1590, that we get our illustrations. This edition is also excessively rare, although there are more copies extant than of the other. The market value of the illustrated, or De Bry edition, of 1590, is said to be about \$1,000.

The reasons which prompted the publication of Hariot's "Narrative" are best given in his own quaint words, in the Introduction of his book, which he addressed "To The Adventurers, Favorers, and Welwillers of the Enterprise for the Inhabitting and Planting in Virginia." Hariot says:

"Since the first undertaking by Sir Walter Raleigh to deale in the action of discovering of that Countrey which is now called and known by the name of Virginia; many voyages having bin thither made at sundrie times to his great charge, as first in the yeere 1584, and afterwarde in the yeeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yeare of 1587. There have bin divers and variable reportes with some slaunderous and shamefull speeches bruited abroad by many that returned from thence. Especially of that discovery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Greinvile in the yeare 1585, being of all the others the most principal and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yeare, when as in the other voyage before they staied but sixe weekes; and the others after were onelie for supply and transportation, nothing more being discovered then had been before. Which reports have not done a litle wrong to many that otherwise would have also favoured and adventured in the action, to the honour and benefite of our nation, besides the particular profite and credite which would redound to them selves the dealers therein; as I hope by the sequele of events to the shame of those that have avouched the contrary shal be manifest. . . . I have therefore thought it good beeing one that have beene in the discoverie and in dealing with the naturall

inhabitanτες specially imploied : to imparte so much unto you of the fruites of our labours, as that you may knowe howe injuriously the enterprise is slaundered."

He then narrates that some even of his own company, in 1585, misrepresented the facts upon their return to England :

"Of our companie that returned, some for their misdemenour and ill dealing in the countrey, have beene there worthily punished ; who by reason of their badde natures, have maliciously not onelie spoken ill of their Governours ; but for their sakes slaundered the countrie it selfe. The like also have those done which were of those consort.

"Some beeing ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friendes and acquaintance and also others, especially if they were in companie where they might not be gainesaide ; woulde seeme to knowe so much as no men more ; and make no men so great travaillers as them selves. They stood so much as it maie seeme uppon their credite and reputation that having been a twelve moneth in the countrey, it woulde have beene a great disgrace unto them as they thought, if they coulde not have saide much whether it were true or false. Of which some have spoken of more than ever they saw or otherwise knew to bee there ; othersome have not bin ashamed to make absolute deniall of that which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowne. And othersome make difficulties of those things they have no skill of.

"The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were never out of the Island where wee were seated, or not farre, or at the leastwise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the country ; or of that many that after golde and silver was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had little or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies ; or of that many which had little understanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

"Some also were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or townes, or such as never (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to bee found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their olde accustomed daintie food, nor any soft beds of downe or fethers : the countrey was to them miserable, & their reports thereof according."

This is enough, surely, to convince us that Hariot was quite justified in presenting to the public a true account of the whole affair ; and this the critics and historians are agreed that he did so. But now we come

to the part of De Bry, in the matter of illustrations. The famous Theodorus De Bry, of Hanover, Germany, was an artist and illustrator of no mean ability, as any one who has enjoyed the pleasing task of leafing over his extensive works, in numerous parts, can testify. As has been said, De Bry brought out a second edition of Hariot's "Narrative," with his own illustrations, in 1590, two years after the original edition. We will let De Bry tell his own story, in his short "epistle dedicatory" to "The Right Worthie and Honourable, Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and L. Warden of the stannaries in Devon and Cornwall":

"Sir, seeing that the parte of the Worlde, which is betwene the Florida and the Cap Breton nowe named Virginia, to the honneur of yours most soveraine Ladye and Queene Elizabeth, hath ben discovered by yours meanes and great chardges. And that your Collonye hath been theer established to your great honnor and prayse, and noe lesser profit unto the common welth: Yt ys good raison that every man evertwe him selfe for to showe the benefit which they have receve of yt. Therefore, for my parte I have been allwayes Desirous for to make you knowe the good will that I have to remayne still your most humble servant. I have thincke that I cold faynde noe better occasion to declare yt, then takinge the paines to cott in copper (the most diligentlye and well that wear in my possible to doe) the Figures which doe levelye represent the forme and maner of the Inhabitants of the same countrye with theirs ceremonies, sollemne feastes, and the manner and situation of their Townes, or Villages. Addinge unto every figure a brief declaration of the same, to that ende that everye man cold the better understand that which is in it [if] livelye represented. Moreover I have thincke that the aforesaid figures wear of greater commendation, If somme Histoire which traitinge of the commodities and fertillitye of the said countrye weare joyned with the same, therefore have I serve miselfe of the rapport which Thomas Hariot hath lattely sett forth, and have cause them booth together to be printed for to dedicate unto you, as a thinge which by reight dooth allreadye apparteyne unto you. Therefore doe I creave that you will accept this little Booke, and take it In goode partte. And desiringe that favor that you will receve me in the number of one of your most humble servauntz, beseechinge the lord to blesse and further you in all yours good doinges and actions, and also to preserve, and keepe you allwayes in good helthe. And soe I comitt you unto almyhttie, from Franckfort the first of Apprill, 1590.

"Your most humble servant,

"THEODORUS DE BRY."

It must be confessed, however, that De Bry is not quite so frank as he seemeth to be. Any one who has carefully examined the artist's multiplied works, illustrating scenes, with brief accounts of the voyages, of travelers and explorers in every part of the Americas, and Oriental lands as well, must have wondered how the deft German could himself have seen all these things so as to give what are, for the times, very good likenesses for the most part. Perhaps the present case will throw light upon De Bry's general practice.

While the artist makes no reference whatever to any obligation for his copper cuts to another hand, he was indebted to another, nevertheless. Indeed, the pictures we present are not his at all—he merely executed the copper engravings (and, incidentally, took the glory) from drawings made by another—John "White" or "With," before mentioned, who, like Hariot, was one of the colonizers on Roanoke Island. Fortunately, these original drawings are still preserved, as invaluable curiosities, in the British Museum, with the name of their true author upon them. They exhibit White as an artist of unusual ability, and prove conclusively that in this instance, at least, De Bry was merely a most faithful copyist—merely the engraver on copper of another's designs. Hence the glory of his dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh, with its "I, I, I," is somewhat dimmed.

Of White, or With, we know very little. It appears that soon after his return to England from Roanoke, with Sir Francis Drake, that indefatigable collector of data on the early voyages, Richard Hakluyt, became aware of the existence of the drawings he had made; while, by his intervention, they were placed in the hands of the engraver, De Bry, who executed them and gave them to the world with such a flourish as we have seen—appropriating at the same time Hariot's "Narrative" to his uses. The prior publication of this last, however, did not permit him to do so without credit.

The brief description accompanying each plate was likely enough taken down by De Bry from the lips of John White—although Hariot himself, or any other voyager of that expedition, might have been his informant. This text was originally in Latin, while translations into German and English, the latter by Richard Hakluyt, were at once made, and the 1590 book thus issued simultaneously in three editions. It is of course the English version, the rarest of the three, which we have before us.

It should be stated that the Indian town of "Secota," or "Secotam," so frequently mentioned in the descriptions, was situated somewhere in what is now Craven County, North Carolina, between the Neuse and Pamlico Rivers.

A weroan or great Lorde of Virginia.



The Princes of Virginia are attyred in suche manner as is expressed in this figure. They weare the haire of their heades long and bynde opp the ende of the same in a knot vnder their eares. Yet they cutt the topp of their heades from the forehead to the nape of the necke in manner of a cokscombe, stickinge a faier longe fether of some berd att the Begininge of the creste vppon their foreheads, and another short one on bothe seides about their eares. They hange at their eares ether thicke pearles, or somwhat els, as the clawe of some great birde, as cometh in to their fansye. Moreouer They ether pownes, or paynt their forehead, cheeks, chynne, bodye, armes, and leggs, yet in another sorte then the inhabitants of Florida. They weare a chaine about their necks of pearles or beades of copper, wich they muche esteeme, and ther of wear they also braselets on their armes. Vnder their brests about their bellyes appeir certayne spotts, whear they vse to lett them selues bloode, when they are sicke. They hange before them the skinne of some beaste verye feinelye dresset in suche sorte, that the tayle hangeth downe behynde. They carye a quiuer made of small rushes holding their bowe readie bent in one hand, and an arrowe in the other, redie to defend themselves.

Their manner of careynge ther Chil-
dren and a tyere of the cheiffe Ladyes of the
towne of Dasamonquepeuc.



In the towne of Dasamonquepeuc distant from Roanoac 4. or 5. milles, the woemen are attired, and powned, in suche sorte as the woemen of Roanoac are, yet they weare noe wreathes vppon their heads, nether haue they their thighe painted with small pricks. They haue a strange manner of bearing their children, and quite contrarie to ours. For our woemen carrie their children in their armes before their brests, but they taking their sonne by the right hand, bear him on their backs, holdinge the left thighe in their lefte arme after a strange, and conuesnall ¹ fashion, as in the picture is to bee seene.

¹ Probably a typographical error for "vnuseuall."

The Coniurer.



They haue comonlye coniurers or iuglers which vse strange gestures, and often contrarie to nature in their enchantments: For they be verye familiar with deuils, of whome they enquier what their enemys doe, or other suche thinges. They shaue all their heads sauinge their creste which they weare as other doe, and fasten a small black birde aboue one of their ears as a badge of their office. They weare nothinge but a skinne which hangeth downe from their gyrdle, and couereth their priuities. They weare a bagg by their side as is expressed in the figure. The inhabitants giue great credit vnto their speeche, which oftentimes they finde to bee true.

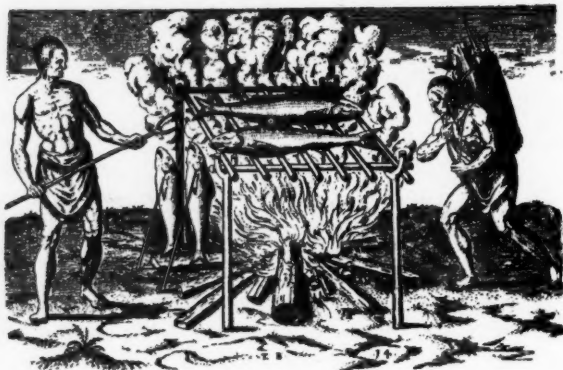
The manner of makinge their boates.



The manner of makinge their boates in Virginia is verye wonderfull. For wheras they want Instruments of yron, or other like vnto ours, yet they knowe howe to make them as handsomelye, to saile with whear they liste in their Riuers, and to fishe withall, as ours. First they choose some longe, and thicke tree, accordinge to the bignes of the boate which they would frame, and make a fyre on the grownd about the Roote therof, kindlinge the same by little, and little with drie mosse of trees, and chipps of woode that the flame should not mounte opp to highe, and burne to muche of the lengte of the tree. When yt is almost burnt thorough, and readye to fall they make a new fyre, which they suffer to burne vntill the tree fall of yts owne accord. Then burninge of the topp, and bowghs of the tree in suche wyse that the bodie of the same may Retayne his iust lengthe, they raise yt vppon potes laid ouer cross wise vppon forked posts, at suche a reasonable heigthe as they may handsomlye worke vppon yt. Then take they of the barke with certayne shells: they reserue the innermost parte of the lennke,¹ for the nethermost parte of the boate. On the other side they make a fyre accordinge to the lengthe of the bodye of the tree, sauinge at both the endes,

¹ Probably a typographical error for "barke."

The brovvylinge of their fishe
ouer the flame.



After they haue taken store of fishe, they gett them vnto a place fitt to dress yt. Ther they sticke vpp in the grownde 4. stakes in a square roome, and lay 4. pottes vppon them, and others ouer thwart the same like vnto an hurdle, of sufficient heigthe, and layings their fishe vppon this hurdle, they make a fyre vnderneathe to broile the same, not after the manner of the people of Florida, which doe but schorte,¹ and harden their meate in the smoke onely to Reserue the same duringe all the winter. For this people reseruinge nothinge for store; thei do broile, and spend away all att once and when they haue further neede, they roste or seethe fresh, as wee shall see herafter. And when as the hurdle can not holde all the fishes, they hange the Rest by the fyres on sticks sett vpp in the grounde a gainst the fyre, and than they finishe the rest of their cookerye. They take good heede that they bee not burntt. When the first are broyled they lay others on, that weare newlye broughte, continuinge the dressinge of their meate in this sorte, vntill they thincke they haue sufficient.

¹ Scorche ?

THE NEW-YORK BAR.

CHARLES LUMAN BUCKINGHAM.

Mr. Buckingham has attained unusual prominence in the legal profession at an age when most men have their reputation yet to make. He not merely stands in the foremost rank of distinguished lawyers who have made a specialty of the vast interests and intricate questions involved in modern patent litigation, but in the peculiarly difficult field of electrical cases he enjoys a unique pre-eminence. It may even be said that in a sense he is the creator of a certain legal method in this department, requiring, in addition to the highest abilities of the lawyer, an expert scientific knowledge and a genius for original and exhaustive investigation which, in the degree that he exhibits them, few men can ever hope to possess.

Mr. Buckingham is descended from old Puritan stock. His family is one of considerable antiquity in England. The name dates back to a remote period prior to its application to the English province of Buckinghamshire. A gentleman of this family was one of three persons who in 1549 received "the King's reward for the taking of Cole, the pirate."¹

The founder of the American branch of the family, Thomas Buckingham, was one of the earliest settlers in the Colony of Connecticut. He landed in Boston June 26, 1637; was among the original company who founded New Haven in 1638; and became one of the original founders and proprietors of Milford, Ct., in 1639, being one of the "seven pillars" who organized the Milford Church in that year. He was prominent in local affairs, and represented Milford as Deputy to the Connecticut General Court.

Rev. Thomas Buckingham, his son, born at Milford in 1646, and carefully educated, "held a high rank among the clergymen of the time," was "one of the leaders in all efforts for the prosperity and extension of the church," appears among "the moderators of that famous synod which convened at Saybrook, and formed the platform for the government of the churches in 1708," and was "one of the founders and fellows of Yale College from 1700 to his decease."

Mr. C. L. Buckingham is in the eighth generation in direct line from this distinguished clergyman, and in the ninth generation from the orig-

¹ "Calendar of State Papers [Great Britain], Domestic Series, 1547-1580": London, 1856, p. 17.

inal Thomas.¹ He was born in Berlin Heights, Ohio, October 14, 1852, his grandfather and great-grandfather having removed from Connecticut to the famous "Western Reserve."

His father died early, leaving him and a brother dependent upon their mother, a lady of unusual attainments and great strength of character.² Mr. Buckingham received his early education in the public schools. At the age of sixteen he made an extensive trip in the West, and, returning to Ohio, engaged in some ingenious and successful business enterprises, preparatory to securing a college education. He entered the University of Michigan, and in 1875 graduated from that institution with honors.

Without special exertion in his studies Mr. Buckingham's mastery of mathematics, mechanics, and civil engineering was exceptional, making it evident that had he decided to pursue this line of study, in preference to law, he could have achieved unusual distinction in it. As it is, another writer has justly remarked that Mr. Buckingham's reputation as an engineer is only less than as a lawyer. As evidence of this it should be remembered that he furnished one of the characteristic articles in the important engineering series contributed to *Scribner's Magazine* in 1889 and 1890 by the leading engineers of the country.

Having determined to enter the legal profession, Mr. Buckingham began his studies at the Columbia Law School, Washington, D. C., at the same time holding the position of examiner in the United States Patent Office. This afforded another special preparation for dealing with the difficulties of patent litigation.

After a service extending through several years in the Patent Office, where he had received various promotions, Mr. Buckingham at length removed to New-York, as counsel for the Western Union Telegraph Company. Almost at once he attracted attention by his brilliant abilities as a lawyer, no less than by his remarkable knowledge as an expert.

He has conducted some of the most important patent cases which have ever come to trial, involving enormous interests, and has enjoyed an extraordinary success, winning cases from such distinguished opponents as Senator Conkling, David Dudley Field, and the most eminent patent lawyers.

¹ The line is as follows: Thomas Buckingham¹; Rev. Thomas²—second wife, Hester, daughter of Thomas Hosmer, one of the most prominent men in Connecticut; Thomas³—wife, Margaret, daughter of Francis Griswold, also prominent in the Colony; Thomas⁴—wife, Mary Parker; Jedediah⁵—wife, Martha Clark; Thomas⁶—wife, Triphena Hibbard; Samuel⁷—wife, Thankful Babcock; George⁸—wife, Ariadne Andrews; C. L. Buckingham⁹, Ex-Governor Buckingham, of Connecticut, is descended through a collateral line.

² Mrs. Buckingham was the daughter of Winfield Andrews, of Western New-York, of an old Connecticut family. Her mother was descended through the Connecticut branch of the Adams family.

His industry is one of the most marked characteristics of Mr. Buckingham's work, and scarcely paralleled among lawyers of equal prominence. He says that a study of the mechanics of a single great case has cost him the labor that would be necessary to acquire a profession, and that as preliminary work he has given months to the study of publications and patents bearing even in a remote way upon the question at issue. Thus armed, and with a technical knowledge quite as complete as that of the most eminent of expert witnesses, he possesses a power in cross-examination which is almost unprecedented in this department of law. Many important points have been scored by solving original mechanical problems which the expert witnesses themselves had never attempted, and thus much of his work has been in the nature of an actual creation of inventive genius in which the best assistants could render him no aid.¹

The mere financial importance of his cases frequently amounts to immense sums; and it is the guarding of such huge interests which has directed the best legal talent into the special field of patent law. Moreover, with the multiplication of intricacies, this field lends itself, in turn, to subdivision; in which process Mr. Buckingham's peculiar expert work has contributed not the least factor, separating the sub-field of electrical cases—most difficult of all—into a division by itself. In this department, Mr. Buckingham is the most original figure.

But while attention is naturally drawn to his unusual technical skill it should not be forgotten that as a lawyer, pure and simple, Mr. Buckingham is one of the most skillful cross-examiners at the bar, while his carefully prepared briefs are distinguished for their clearness, unusual vigor and originality, and remarkable command of irony and satire in exposing the weakness of the opposition.

Mr. Buckingham is leading counsel of the Western Union and American District Telegraph Companies, and counsel of a number of the principal electrical and kindred corporations.²

Personally, Mr. Buckingham is a gentleman of wide culture, a most interesting conversationalist, and a genial companion. He is a member of the University Club and the Ohio and Electrical Societies of this city, and the Union and Metropolitan Clubs of Washington. He is also an active member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the American Institute of Electrical Engineers.

¹ The labor involved in some of these great cases is indicated by the fact that the printed reports of evidence and briefs sometimes occupy nine or ten volumes, aggregating several thousand pages, with hundreds of intricate illustrations.

² Among these are the General Electric, Thomson-Houston, and Schuyler Electric Light Companies; the Delaware and Atlantic Telegraph and Telephone Company; the Gold and Stock and the American Speaking Telephone Companies, and the Magnetic Ore Separator Company.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL MILWAUKEE.

WILLIAM H. METCALF.

Among all the men who have been identified with Western industrial enterprises, who have become widely known by reason of the magnitude of their operations and their extensive trade connections, there has been none whose personality was more interesting and impressive, or whose existence was more beneficent than that of William H. Metcalf. In the busy world of trade he was one whose poetic mould and artistic temperament impressed themselves upon his associates, and in the community of which he became a resident in the pioneer period of its existence, he was a potent factor in the development of artistic tastes and the formation of culture and intelligence.

Born in New-York City, February 19, 1821, he was a descendant from an English ancestor, who came to this country in 1636, and settled in Dedham, Mass. One of his maternal ancestors was Captain Selah Benton, who was with Washington at Valley Forge, and fought by his side through the Revolutionary War.

His father was Eliot Metcalf, an artist of renown, whose early death robbed the world of one whose life was full of brilliant promise. In "Dunlap's History of the Arts of Design in the United States," a touching and beautiful tribute is paid to the memory of this gifted genius, whose feeble health kept him in the West Indies during the greater part of mature life, and who died in Havana February 15, 1834.

The death of his father interfered with the plans which had been made for giving William H. Metcalf a liberal education, but the careful early training which he had received influenced to a great extent his later life. At fourteen years of age he was given a position in the counting-room of Messrs. Spofford & Tileston,—at that time one of the largest shipping and importing houses in New-York City,—and in this employ he served the apprenticeship which fitted him for his successful career as a merchant and manufacturer.

At the end of seven years of faithful service, he had acquired an experience and knowledge of trade, which satisfied him that, even with limited capital and resources, he could advance his fortunes much more rapidly in the "Great West" than by remaining in New-York City. He was impressed with the fact, that industry, energy, and business

capacity constituted a capital of inestimable value for young men coming into this region of vast possibilities, and forming a partnership with Charles T. Bradley, a fellow-clerk in the employ of Spofford & Tileston, the two young merchants decided to establish themselves in business in Milwaukee.

In the winter of 1841 they started together for the scene of their future enterprise and activity, making the long and tedious journey from New-York to Milwaukee overland, travelling much of the way in sleighs, over the old time stage routes, and reaching their destination at the end of thirteen days and nights of continuous travel. They came to Milwaukee, not only as business associates but as friends, each having implicit confidence in the business capacity, the integrity, and good faith of the other. On a half sheet of foolscap paper the agreement under which their copartnership was formed was written, and under this agreement a business was transacted, in later years aggregating many millions of dollars. The original contract under which the firm of Bradley & Metcalf was organized is still among the archives of the great establishment which grew up under their conduct and management, and its conditions were never changed while the partnership lasted, which was severed only by the death of Mr. Metcalf, April 8, 1892. Their business association covered in all a period of fifty-one years, and at the time of Mr. Metcalf's death their copartnership was probably the oldest in existence in any of the cities of the Northwest. They began business in 1841 in a small way, as boot and shoe merchants, and this small merchandising establishment they developed into a vast manufacturing plant, with a wholesale trade extending all over the United States. Hundreds of persons found employment in the industry which these sagacious and able merchant-manufacturers created, and their enterprise broadened with the increase of their prosperity and the accumulation of fortune. Active in building up and beautifying the city in which they had been so signally successful, they signified in a most appropriate way their appreciation of the character and worth of its founder, Solomon Juneau. The idea of perpetuating the memory of the first of the pioneers in enduring bronze, suggested itself to Mr. Metcalf, whose artistic taste and thorough appreciation of the fact that such monuments serve as object-lessons in local history, prompted him to ask his old friend and business partner to join him in making a noble gift to the city, and in 1887 the Juneau monument was erected on the lake front at the foot of Juneau Avenue as the result of their generous joint action and effort.

Though turned aside in early life from the pursuits for which nature had amply endowed him, and in which he would most likely have found the sweetest pleasures of life and have achieved distinction as well, he found time in the midst of business cares and responsibilities for self-culture and improvement. His leisure hours were devoted to reading and study, and his early manhood found him a man remarkable among business men for his broad knowledge of literature, art, and science. As an art connoisseur he became especially noted, and four European tours made him familiar with the best works of art in the galleries of the old world. He also resided at one time six months in Japan, when he studied the habits, customs, and manners of that interesting people, and familiarized himself with their art treasures and the curios for which the land of the Mikado is famous. In the course of his travels, he not only added to his store of knowledge and broadened his views of life, but added largely to a collection of art works which is one of the most famous private collections to be found anywhere in the Western States. A portion of his spacious and handsome residence was set apart for an art gallery, and into this he gathered during the later years of his life many rare and beautiful paintings and other works of art, each of which attested his fine discrimination and correct artistic tastes. To share with others the enjoyment of this collection of art treasures was one of the pleasures of his later life. Not only were his friends and acquaintances given free access to it at all times, but once each week—on Sunday afternoons—it was thrown open to the general public, visitors of all classes being welcomed with the most kindly courtesy and consideration. Outside of this his interest in art matters extended to active efforts in the building up of the Layton Art Gallery, of which he was a trustee, and to which he donated two of the best pictures on its walls.

Married in 1848 to Caroline Tileston, a daughter of Thomas Tileston, of New-York, whose tastes and instincts were in thorough harmony with his own, his home was not only an art centre, but an ideal home-
stead. One daughter, now the wife of M. B. Cary, of New-York, and his wife were members of the domestic circle of which he was the revered head, and both have survived him. In the family circle, and in a social circle, the members of which felt for him a deep and lasting affection, the memory of William H. Metcalf lingers like a benediction. There was something so marked, so altogether charming in his personality, that even those who knew him only casually, remember it with unalloyed pleasure. The integrity of his principles, the purity of his soul, his noble impulses and generous nature, left a lasting impress upon

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T. A. Chapman.

all who came in contact with him, and upon the community of which he was so long a loved and honored member.

TIMOTHY APPLETON CHAPMAN.

Mr. Chapman was of English ancestry, but the family settled in New England more than two hundred years ago. George Whitefield and Mary (Greenwood) Chapman were his parents. He was born in Gilead, Oxford County, Maine, May 23, 1824. He passed his boyhood on his father's farm, and was educated in the district schools, and in academies of Bethel and Yarmouth. He taught school two winters, and in this capacity earned his first money. He went to Boston before he was twenty years old, reaching there with less than ten dollars in his pocket. He had a strong constitution, excellent habits, good morals, keen intelligence, indomitable will, and lofty ambition. For five years he was a clerk in Boston, most of the time with C. F. Hovey & Co. Early ambition had not inclined him to enter trade, but having entered that calling he determined to make the best of the situation and achieve the greatest possible measure of success.

In his young manhood he strived to become a man of general intelligence, giving careful consideration to questions of the day. He was an active sympathizer with the abolition of slavery, and a supporter of the views of Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, and Whittier, long before their doctrines had found favor with the public.

James M. Beebe, then the leading dry-goods importer of Boston, took a fancy to him, and aided him to start a store of his own. For seven years he carried on this enterprise with moderate success. In 1857 Mr. Chapman removed to Milwaukee, then a town of 30,000 people. C. F. Hovey & Co. furnished his financial support in this enterprise. His methods of business, high character, and intelligence as a merchant commended him to the people of that city, and he prospered from the start.

In 1872 he erected and occupied what was then one of the largest dry-goods houses in the Northwest. Eleven years later he doubled the capacity of the building. Decorative art played an important part in the fitting up of the store, and it became known as the "Palace Store."

On the night of October 23, 1884, the store and contents (\$750,000 in value) were destroyed by fire. This was looked upon as a public calamity by the people of Milwaukee. From the citizens of the city and

of all parts of the State came messages of sympathy, and petitions to rebuild and continue in business. Financial assistance was freely offered, if needed. He decided to continue his activity in trade, and erected a building five stories in height, and occupying an area of more than 17,000 feet on the ground floor. The building is most admirably designed, and has no superior in the West in point of arrangement and equipment; decoration European in design and execution. Mr. Chapman made ample provision for the comfort of employees, for whose welfare he was always solicitous.

In his field of labor he rose to the highest eminence, a broad-minded, cultured, public-spirited, and philanthropic man, a promoter of public enterprises, a patron of art and education.

On the old farm at Gilead, Maine, he conducted a series of scientific experiments in agriculture, some years since, which attracted wide attention, and demonstrated that the intelligent New England farmer can make a success of his vocation. The results of his experiments, and some of his ideas on farming, he laid before the public as contributions to the press.

He was a strong believer in the wisdom of the protective tariff, and wrote intelligently and ably in its defense. He was a Republican in politics, and loyal and liberal in his contributions to the Union cause during the war. He would not hold office, and a movement made to nominate him for Governor of Wisconsin, in 1888, was declined.

He died at his home in Milwaukee March 19, 1892.



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J. Madsen Dyben

AUTHOR, SOLDIER, HISTORIAN, MILITARY BIOGRAPHER
AND CRITIC.

GEN. J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

Justice, in story and allegory, is swift to execute and infallible in her decisions. In real life, alas, she is painfully slow and hesitating, often stupidly crowning the heads which are least deserving, and delaying her coming to those who in patience wait for her till the heart grows sick and the spirit flickers and goes out. And then, wretched mocker, she will, perhaps, lavish on a memory, a shadow, what was denied the living—bare, scant justice. Nay, indeed, we may be thankful if she does not altogether miscarry even in the post mortem.

And this—let us face the truth—is the way of the world,—one of those crooked and unaccountable ways which we have heard of since we heard of man. It springs from some deep-seated frailty, some fault which has its roots way down in the very joints and marrow of human kind. Our eyes seem made for long range. The thing just at hand, however worthy, however original, however huge, has no interest for us. We do not see it; we cannot recognize it. Whatever rare spirit may be within, we only deem it ordinary clay. It is too near to pique curiosity; too convenient to induce examination; too accessible to arouse a desire for acquaintance. We are all using telescopes, and nothing is within range until it is a long way off. A prophet is not without honor save in his own country, save in his own generation.

Ah, rank pessimism! I hear you say. Yes, no doubt; but it is the humiliating truth—the humbling lesson, never learned, of cycle after cycle of history. It was him whom we call wisest among the sons of men who said, 3,000 years ago: "All that cometh is vanity" (*"μυταιοιτηδ' μυταιοιτητων"*—"Eitelkeit und Jammer"). Vanity of vanities; all is vanity. And it was the same lips which voiced the weary lament which has been verified to the souls of the misunderstood in every generation since.

"What profit hath man of all his labor wherein he laboreth under the sun? One generation goeth, and another generation cometh. The sun also riseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he ariseth. The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north: it turneth about continually in its course, and the wind re-

turneth again to its circuits. All the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea is not full; unto the place whither the rivers go, thither they go again. All things are full of weariness; man cannot utter it: the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing. That which hath been is that which shall be; and that which hath been done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there a thing whereof men say, See this is new? It hath been already, in the ages which were before us. There is no remembrance of the former; neither shall there be any remembrance of the latter that are to come, among those that shall come after."

Shall we wonder, then, that the cry should burst from the ancient prophet, rejected by his generation,—“Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils!”

The writer of this article desires to free himself, for once, from this strange fatality, this perverse blindness, and give the readers of *THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE* a few brief glimpses which may enable for a true insight into the character, and a proper understanding of the value and prodigious amount of work accomplished by one, still living and among us, whose name is not unfamiliar to most who scan these lines. No attempt will be made to give the story of his life; a large volume would be required to do that, even with the most studied brevity. No effort will be made to present a complete view of his published works; the entire space of this article would be consumed in merely cataloguing the chief titles. Only a very few even of his signal achievements can be reviewed; since a mere enumeration would be valueless, and an analysis of them, however concise, could scarcely be begun within the limits of our space. But if a few brief glances, here and there, at a life of marvellous activities in our midst, shall serve to open the eyes of the readers as it has the eyes of the writer, and interest them as it has him, the object of this paper will have been achieved.

We shall consider, then, a gentleman, of a sort absolutely rare in this generation, characterized by perfect honesty, straightforwardness, frankness and simplicity in speech and manners:—one to whom affectation is unknown, and who, in its stead, exhibits character of one clear consistency from the surface to the interior. But this simplicity does not preclude mental depths of such profundity as would require a skillful plummet indeed to sound. And we shall find that his three score and thirteen years seem to have affected those extraordinary mental powers as little as they have his tall, lithe, trim, well-proportioned, straight, erect, military figure, and quick, nervous, elastic step.

We shall consider, also, the scion of one of the most noteworthy families, not merely in its direct line, but in its notable branches engrafted into the main stem, that ever took root in American soil. We shall consider one of the most profound, most deeply-versed scholars, and with the widest range of erudition, that have ever lived; and yet at the same time a practical man of affairs, a reformer, an originator of new and practical ideas, and a soldier; one of the fathers of our metropolitan paid fire department, and of all those patterned after it in the other large cities of the Union; the reformer, if not one of the fathers, of our more modern militia system, who having held the positions of Adjutant-General of the State of New-York, Brigadier-General of the State militia, and special Military Agent of the State in Europe, now holds the commission, especially created for him, and without precedent in the Union, of Brevet Major-General of New-York State Troops.

We shall consider, further, an author of extraordinary fertility and unlimited scope, the omnivorous character of whose studies is displayed on every page of his writings; an author whose works comprise scores of volumes, with hundreds of smaller works, treatises and pamphlets, of which the entire amount would be doubled by the addition of innumerable articles and series of papers published in magazines and newspapers, and never yet collected together; the author of poetry and drama of an unusual excellence, and an endless miscellany on almost every conceivable subject, and who yet, in his own peculiarly pre-eminent field, as a military biographer, military historian, and military critic, has no peer in America.

But does the reader say, I never heard of such a man; this must be exaggerated! Well, let us see. It is this man whom Lieutenant Frederick Whittaker, author of "Volunteer Cavalry," "Lessons of the Decade," etc., describes as the "author of the best military writings our country has yet produced." And after declaring that, "till lately, we had been accustomed to look to Europe, and especially to France, for our Military Historians," and that "Jomini, Segur, Marmont, and the dictator utterances of the Great Napoleon, had been our text-books of the science," the same writer adds, speaking of the author before us: "That was the case in America until the close of the war; but we are glad to say we have changed all that, and now possess in America a Military Historian of the first rank."

It was of the same man that Brevet Brigadier-General William P. Wainwright wrote: "His keen eye for topography, his long and still

unceasing military education, his uncommon memory, his powers of description, and his opportunities for using his abilities, constitute him the only as well as the first military critic in America."

It was of this man that Major-General A. A. Humphreys wrote :

"His industry in collecting facts upon any subject he treats of is literally untiring. In a long experience among the workingmen of the country, I have rarely found his equal, never. I think, his superior ; and I may pay the same tribute to his conscientious labor, in the task of evolving the truth from the mass of matter collected, much of it contradictory and apparently irreconcilable with any known truths. Possessing a clear appreciation of the great fundamentals which should govern military operations and battles, he is quick to perceive adherence to, or departure from them, and as the extended study of the great military writers and historians has imbued his mind with just military views, so has it richly stored his memory with a redundant supply of apt illustrative examples for every important event or incident of our war. To all these qualifications as a military critic, he has added a ready, rapid and courageous pen, and a power of application that physical ailments, growing out of a delicate physique, have not impaired, though they have sorely tried."

Again, it was of this man that General Badeau, the popular military biographer and writer, wrote in a letter to a friend : "He has accumulated a wonderful amount of original matter, some of which is absolutely invaluable, and I expect to avail myself of it."

It was of this man that General W. T. Sherman (in conjunction with Major-General H. W. Slocum) declared : "He is thoroughly conversant with all the military operations of both armies during the late war. He has written considerably on this subject, and his writings have attracted much attention."

And it was of him, also, that General and President U. S. Grant endorsed the opinion of Major-General A. Pleasanton, and of him the latter wrote : "His great acquaintance with military matters, his long and faithful research into the military histories of modern nations, his correct comprehension of our own late war, and his intimacy with many of our leading generals and statesmen during the period of its continuance, with his tried and devoted loyalty and patriotism, recommend him as an eminently suitable person to visit foreign countries, to impart as well as receive proper views upon all such subjects as are connected with his position as a military writer. Such high qualifications, apart from his being a gentleman of family, of fortune, and of refined cultivation, are entitled to the most favorable consideration from all those who esteem and admire them."

Of this man, General Barnard, brother of the distinguished President

Barnard, of Columbia College, declared: "His judgment of military matters is almost infallible." And Sir Edward Cust, General, and author of "Annals of the Wars" (nine volumes), and "Lives of the Warriors" (six volumes), prefaced his second series with a twenty-eight page "letter dedicatory" to our author whom he only knew through his writings, correspondence, and by reputation. Among many other things in this dedicatory he said:

"I am desirous of marking my deep obligations to you by requesting permission to dedicate my concluding volume to you and to your military brethren. We appear to be men of much the same mind, and of common sympathies, desirous alike of employing our common language for a common object,—that of enlightening our comrades of a common profession with the necessity of applying the precepts of military history to the useful comprehension of their calling. Both of us agreeing that the best instruction for all officers is to be acquired from the deeds of the old masters in the Art of War. . . . The United States were on the eve of a melancholy crisis of international conflict, when you naturally wished, and you very reasonably desired to show, by the introduction of a better system of war, how to stay the waste of blood among your countrymen in a strife which made every brother on either side a soldier. . . . I, on the other hand, had fallen 'upon the sere and yellow leaf' . . . and . . . had, . . . as an old stager, become disturbed by the intrusion of a new school at our Military Colleges, pre-eminently among the instructors of military history, who were seeking to introduce a Theory of War, against which I sought to recommend a knowledge of the past, or, as you put it—'Practical Strategy.' . . . I do not claim the merit of originality. . . . My works were written by me for the use of youths who have already entered the service of arms, and whose career has commenced, but whose profession has yet to be learned. . . . You address the higher ranks of the army, and appear to seek to philosophize the Art of War, by showing it to be capable, under its most scientific phases, of being less lavish of human blood. . . . To both our grievances the remedy is the same—Practical Strategy. I readily accept from you this expression. It comprises all that can be said or written upon skill in war, and while I agree with you that this is best evinced by sparing the lives of its instruments as much as possible, I hold that this is in fact the whole art of war."

And who, pray, it will be asked, can this man be? Ah, is not the question the very best proof of what has been said—that a prophet is not without honor *save* in his own country? Our author enjoys an established reputation in Europe. He has received three special medals of honor from the King of Sweden in recognition of his masterly authorship of a single work. It was another single work which called out from Sir Edward Cust, already referred to, his "letter dedicatory" to an American author whom he had never seen, and only knew through his published works. . . .

If these considerations shall be found sufficient to excite interest and great astonishment that one who has accomplished so much, and attained so pre-eminent a reputation among experts, should yet be not popularly known at home, nor even in his native city, in his true character, except by the small circle of military minds; no doubt the lesson and rebuke will be a salutary one for us all. If our author, during life, were dancing buoyantly upon the topmost crest of the wave of popularity, we might well question if it were not the frothy effervescence of an hour. But finding him justly estimated by only a very few who have carefully probed beneath the surface, it may be worth while to examine whether his work rests not upon foundations which will only become the more firm and enduring as time goes on. How almost invariable has it been the rule of literary history that the æsthetic dilettante—the exquisite dandy—who dresses his insincere nothings in the most airy lace and trimmings of the latest literary fashion, and who is flattered and caressed as the lion of the hour, is absolutely forgotten by the next generation; while the real genius, who died starving in his garret, or broken-hearted in his castle, is discovered when only his bones, or his dust, remain to receive the heaped-up honors. And the philosopher who looks back is astounded at the infatuation which could applaud the one, the strange blindness which saw not the other. But is it not merely human nature—what, alas, human nature has ever proved itself to be since the world was? And do we not know that the very philosopher who moralizes thus on the stupidity of his forebears, will be himself the butt of the same jest for another generation—will stand convicted, just as he convicted others, of star-gazing into the past, of accepting without consideration the dictum of the foolish fashions of his day, and of rejecting the real worth which he only abused, or blindly trod upon?

And so, I say, if we can find an illustration of all this, who is still living among us, no doubt the rebuke will be salutary for us all. In the words of another, who also recognized the truth, "We have been led into their strain of thought in considering one of the most original men, in all aspects, that the Empire State ever produced—John Watts de Peyster."

At the threshold, let us answer the question which may rise to the lips of many. If Major-General de Peyster is worthy, they may say, of all that has been said about him, and of the estimate put upon him by so many great authorities, and if he was the great military critic of the Civil War, how is it he did not figure directly in that conflict, beside such great captains as Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and others less fortu-

nate, perhaps, but of at least equal ability? To which I answer: Fortune's fickle but stern and irrevocable decree was against him!

Let us remember that it was of this man that Lieutenant Whittaker wrote in 1871: "For thirty long years and upwards, he never knew a *well day*. Racked with pain for thirty years, subject to the most torturing diseases that ancestral errors ever entailed upon suffering humanity, the vitality that has kept this man up all those years, and enabled him to do the work he has done, is marvelous."

Another witness, General Wainwright, testifies: "Feeble health prevented him from serving in the field, during the late rebellion, in any capacity which would have derived the advantage of nothing more than a blanket; in other words, by serving in any capacity below a general of brigade, whose baggage wagon always accompanies headquarters, loaded with the apparatus of comfort. *One night's exposure would probably have consigned him to the hospital.*" So said the surgeons and physicians to whom the case was submitted. One of his difficulties was constant, almost exhaustive hemorrhages.

That this was the bare statement of the fact, the evidence overwhelmingly proves. He was repeatedly offered the command of different regiments, both cavalry and infantry, by Governor Morgan, of New York, and United States Senator Ira Harris, of the same State. But all these offers he was most reluctantly forced to decline, while his earnest request for such an opportunity as he could accept was strangely refused by President Lincoln. Says Captain Whittaker, who knew him intimately, already quoted: "In spite of his failing health, and the painful diseases to which he has so long been a martyr, he offered his services, along with three picked regiments, to Mr. Lincoln, at the opening of the rebellion. Refused, among the crowds of applicants at that early period, he returned home, where he was again struck down by sickness. Again, in the fall of 1861, he offered a brigade on condition he should command it, but was refused anything above a colonelcy, and his state of weakness from hemorrhage prevented his assuming the duties of that arduous position."

Why were these offers, tendered by General de Peyster, denied? Can we hold President Lincoln to have been directly and solely responsible? Were de Peyster's achievements of such a character and so well known as to justify the conferring of the commission of brigade commander, at least, upon him? Were they of such a character as to make the refusal seem incomprehensible, if not indefensible? This is not the first time these questions have been asked; for, as has been

truly said, the refusal was a matter of utter "astonishment to military officers of highest rank and experience" and was "incomprehensible" in view of the fact that "the General's capacity was acknowledged as indisputable." The present writer believes that data are in existence which put all these questions in a way to be at least partially explained; and that thereby a new light can be thrown upon the vast accumulation of errors which blotched the Union record during the early years of the conflict.

And first we must answer the question somewhat at length perhaps, —What was the standing and known reputation of General de Peyster upon the outbreak of the "Slaveholders' Rebellion," as he has happily dubbed the conflict?

We reply, first, that he was the well-known scion of a long line of military, administrative and otherwise notable men. He is the seventh in direct line from Johannis de Peyster, who was born in Haarlem, Holland, according to family tradition of a French Huguenot stem which had taken root in the more liberal Dutch soil in the century disgraced by the fatal St. Bartholomew's Day, of the 24th August, 1572. Johannis came to New Amsterdam, a young man, about the year 1645, although, according again to family tradition, he must have paid a visit of investigation some ten or twelve years before. His wife, Cornelia Lubbertse, was also from Haarlem. Almost immediately after his arrival here he received his first commission as a Cadet *Adelborst* of one of the city militia companies. He had the traditional reputation of being one of the six associated to draw up the first charter of the city; successively, between 1655 and 1677, held the municipal offices of Schepen, Burgomaster, Alderman, and Deputy Mayor; and being appointed Mayor, October 15, 1677, declined the office on account of his imperfect understanding of English.

His eldest son, second in the direct line, Colonel Abraham, was one of the really famous men of his times in America. Born July 8, 1657, he visited Holland in 1684, and on the 5th of April, married there his kinswoman, Catherine de Peyster, of Amsterdam. This man held the commission of colonel, commanding the militia of the City and County of New-York—nine companies, one of horse and eight of foot. He held the offices of Alderman; Mayor from 1691 to 1695; Judge of the Supreme Court; Member of the King's Council, over which he some time presided; and as such in 1701 was acting Governor of the Provinces in 1700. In 1706 he was appointed the first Treasurer of the Provinces of New-York and New Jersey. He was the most intimate friend

of that excellent Governor, the Earl of Bellomont, as he was also of the gentle William Penr, who refers to the fascination of de Peyster's conversational powers in one of his letters.

Abraham, second, eldest son of the above, and third in the direct line, succeeded his father as Treasurer of New-York and New Jersey. He engrafted another famous stock into the family by his marriage to Margaret, daughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt. His eldest son, James, next in the line, married Sarah, daughter of Hon. Joseph Reade, Member of the King's Council, and after whose family Red Hook (Reade Hoek), on the Hudson, derived its name. He, in turn, had three sons, in the order of their births, Abraham, James, and Frederic, each of whom commanded troops, in the King's service, during the Revolution. A cousin of these young men, Col. Arent Schuyler de Peyster, also in the Royal Service, had command of the region from the head of Lake Superior eastward to Lake Ontario, where he enjoyed a powerful influence over the northwestern Indian tribes only equalled by that of Sir William Johnson over the Six Nations.

General de Peyster may be said to be the last Patroon of the Lower Claverack Manor. Not but that his territorial and hereditary rights passed to his heirs in succession, but the State of New-York has so annulled or confiscated the rights and remedies of Patroons, that their properties and privileges under their leases have been reduced to worse than nullities. He also owns a tract of about 1,200 acres, in the central part of Dutchess County, which is a portion of an enormous tract in Dutchess County, which remainder has come down to him through seven generations of his ancestors.

There were others, also, not in the direct line of descent, who held similar commissions; and there were still others of the family, who cast in their fortunes with the revolting colonists, and notably one, a Revolutionary ensign, who was killed on Long Island, in an extraordinary manner by lightning. But the line of greatest wealth, station, and influence, the direct line before us, was loyal throughout to its king. General Wainwright has even thought it necessary to apologize for this, as follows: "Their positions under the colonial governments were most influential, and so attached them to the royal cause that they generally adopted the losing side during the Revolution, showing at the same time their military instincts by accepting service in the royal army both during the war and afterwards. . . . This *fault or mistake* of their ancestors has, however, been most nobly redeemed by the descendants of those who remained."

But are such words necessary? Is it quite certain that in *their* cases, however it might have been with others, it was a "fault" or "mistake"? Having either received their great possessions, their station, and many honors from the Crown, or had them preserved to them under it, did it behoove them, as gentlemen, as honest men and brave, to turn and rend the government to which they were beholden, because, forsooth, they chanced to be situated among a majority of opposing sentiments? Shall we not rather confess the justice of the dignified sentiments of General de Peyster himself, who, having given his three sons to the cause of the Union, two of whom paid the full penalty, has somewhere said: "Just as in 1775 the de Peysters adhered to the government under which they had prospered, and paid the last full measure of devotion to Loyalty and Duty to the Crown, just so, in 1861-65, they were found again in the front rank of Loyalty and Duty to the Union."

Of the three brothers, de Peyster, of Revolutionary fame, the eldest, Abraham, has left no surviving male line. This was also true of the second, James, who was killed in Flanders, in the service of his king at Lincelles in 1793. The third son, Frederic (i), married Helen, daughter of Commissary-General Samuel Hake, of the British army, her mother being Helen Livingston, daughter of Robert Gilbert Livingston, and great-granddaughter of the First Lord of Livingston Manor. Frederic and Helen de Peyster had four sons: James Ferguson, the eldest, entered the United States army, about the age of twenty-one, in the spring of 1814, and soon rose to the rank of captain; and Frederic (ii) married M^{ary} Justina, daughter of the Hon. John Watts, founder and endower of the Leake and Watts Orphan House in New-York, and who was the father of General John Watts de Peyster.

Surely, if there be any virtue in the operation of the laws of heredity, it cannot be questioned that General de Peyster has come by his military genius lawfully,—though the story is but half told. The direct line through his mother, Mary Justina Watts, is equally notable as the de Peyster stem. Robert Watt or Watts, founder of the American branch of the family, was the son of John Watt, "of Rose Hill," mentioned in Burke's Peerage and elsewhere. Robert came to New-York near the close of the seventeenth century, a worthy man of mark. In 1706 he was married to Mary, daughter of William Nicoll, Esq., of Nicoll Manor, Islip, Long Island. Their son, John Watts, rose to great distinction in the colony. He was a member of the King's Council and held various other important offices. He was first President of the New-York City

Hospital. His town-house, on Pearl Street, near Whitehall, was burned during the great fire of 1776. He was loyal to the King, and suffered the confiscation of his estates in consequence, as did his connections, the Johnsons and his friends the de Peysters. Had the royal cause triumphed he was destined to the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor and Acting Governor of the Province of New-York. It was his "letters to General Monckton, accidentally discovered in England, and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society," which are said to "present the best pictures of men and manners, politics and public feeling, just previous to the outbreak of the American Revolution, of any that have been preserved or recovered." His wife, the society queen, Ann de Lancey, died of a broken heart through the exile of her husband and the reversal of his and her family's fortunes.

Concerning the illustrious children of this unfortunate gentleman and gentlewoman, I quote again: "Robert, the eldest son, married Mary, eldest daughter of William Alexander, Major-General in the Continental army, and titular Earl of Stirling; Ann, their eldest daughter, married Hon. Archibald Kennedy, and became Countess of Cassilis (her portrait in Colzean Castle, Scotland, shows she was an eminently beautiful woman); Susan married Philip Kearny, and was the mother of Major-General Stephen Watts Kearny, the conqueror of New Mexico and California, and grandmother of the famous Major-General Philip Kearny, U. S. V., who fell at Chantilly in 1862; Mary, known as the lovely Polly Watts and 'nature's masterpiece,' married Sir John Johnson, Bart., and like her father suffered the pains of exile and confiscation of property; Stephen was the famous Major Watts of Oriskany; and John, the public benefactor, married Jane de Lancey, youngest daughter of Peter de Lancey, 'of the Mills,' Westchester County, New-York, and was, through his youngest child and daughter, the lovely and intellectual Mary Justina, the grandfather of General John Watts de Peyster, of Rose Hill."

If it be admitted that we have established our first proposition, that General de Peyster was "the well-known scion of a large line of warriors, soldiers, administrators, and notable men," we will desist (though much more could still be said), pleading as our excuse for the space taken in this catalogue of colonial notables, the most extraordinary, most unprecedented nature of the exhibit, as the ancestral lines of an American gentleman. Surely we can successfully maintain that the commission which, despite the greatest physical suffering, General de Peyster was anxious to undertake through love of his country, was not

denied him because the finger could be put upon a single spot in the records of his forebears which predicated unfitness.

Secondly, we submit that not merely was there hereditary predisposition, but that his manifest instincts almost from early boyhood, and his inclinations, constant occupation and self-directed education from his earliest years to manhood, gave the unmistakable evidences of military genius and tactical competency.

General Wainwright, a lifelong associate, shall be our first witness, as follows: "Having the misfortune to lose his mother while yet an infant, young de Peyster was brought up at the house of his maternal grandfather, in companionship with his first cousin on that side, Philip Kearny, afterwards the celebrated general. Now, if there ever was a born soldier, Kearny was such. He was also particularly keen in discerning soldierly capacities in others. What he thought of some of his cousin's speculations may be judged of from his sending an orderly several miles, as he did, to the writer, from his headquarters, near Fairfax Episcopal Seminary, with the express and only wish of asking whether he could procure for him a copy of one of the cousin's military treatises—that on the Swiss Military Organization and Penal Code."

Lieutenant Whittaker, testifying to the same early association, in the course of which he justly describes Major-General Kearny as "one of the greatest soldiers America has ever produced," adds: "The two were educated together; and when, at eleven years of age, a serious accident befell young de Peyster which necessitated his traveling in Europe to recover his health, Kearny was his *compagnon de voyage*, and the two together roamed over parts of Western and Southern Europe rarely trodden by the ordinary tourist. It was during this European trip that young de Peyster acquired that passion for topography in connection with military matters which has made him the wonderful strategical critic he undoubtedly is. The two boys in their rambles were accustomed to fight imaginary battles over every landscape they saw, and their favorite amusement in the evening was the manœuvring of mimic armies over the theatre of war depicted on their maps, and striving the one to out-general the other. The seed thus sown has blossomed into a vigorous maturity in both the soldier and his biographer; and it is not too much to say that all the advantages of West Point could not have improved on the self-acquired military education received by both."

The same writer further declares: "At the early age of eleven years, young de Peyster became a contributor to *Peabody's Parlor Magazine*—a publication of that day—with a story showing the bent of

his future genius. It was a description of the charge of a body of Polish lancers at the battle of Leipsic, and displays marvelous talent when we consider the mere child who wrote it. From time to time thereafter, he wrote for the newspapers," etc. This performance was truly astonishing, and fully justifies Whittaker's comment on de Peyster elsewhere: "From his earliest years he evinced a passion for two things, soldiering and writing. *To show that the two are found together in the highest development of mind*, we need only to point to Cæsar, Frederick, and Napoleon. These three master-minds of military history, each and all were elegant writers, as well as accomplished soldiers. Indeed, to be a great captain necessitates a knowledge of so many branches of art and science, such a complete mastery of history, and such a power of generalizing abstract principles out of a mass of conflicting examples, that a great soldier can hardly fail to be a great writer."

"As a youth," remarks General Wainwright, "de Peyster was educated under Professor Lutz, of New-York City, afterwards elected Professor and acting President of Transylvania University, in Lexington, Kentucky." And he judiciously adds: "This gentleman was one of the most distinguished mathematicians and natural philosophers who ever presided over the instruction of our youth."

This second proposition will be considered demonstrated and closed by reference to another early occupation, which, although not precisely military in character, is certainly analogous, and is especially significant as showing the bent of his mind to have been *active*, and not merely passive and literary. "At the age of eighteen," writes Whittaker, "de Peyster exhibited his talents in another line, in which he has since rendered great service to America. He was then elected foreman of a volunteer fire company, in which he served for some time. Fatigue and constant exposure to the weather at all hours of the day and night induced after a while a nervous affection of the heart so remarkable in its nature as to call forth a special notice in one of the best medical journals of the day." His other biographer, General Wainwright, thus touches the same point: "He did not much improve his health by being for some years 'foreman' of a volunteer fire company, composed principally of the young of good position and of like tastes, and who were among the foremost, night or day, in drenching burning houses and scaling their flaming stories, at a time when the volunteer firemen of New-York did their duty as citizens and not as rowdies."

It should also be added that both our sources of information assert that, spite of his "deficiency of vital constitution, finally assimilating

itself to heart disease," young de Peyster was one of the rarest of horse-men;—so much so that General Wainwright, "whether with a pair, a four-in-hand, or a tandem team" had "seldom seen his equal in bold and dexterous driving"; while he was equally admirable "in the saddle, too, whether with an unruly horse or in going across the country." But even this advantage failed him, as we learn, just prior to the Rebellion, from the hemorrhages before referred to.

Finally, in the third place, we shall cite evidences which are simply overwhelming to show, (1) that General de Peyster's actual military achievements prior to the outbreak of the war, were so remarkable and so widely known, as to make the refusal of his commission twice by Lincoln, one of the strangest mistakes, one of the least defensible blunders, in the entire course of the war; (2) that in the years previous to the firing of the first gun upon Fort Sumter, de Peyster had done more than any other one man certainly—more than any half dozen men would not be an unreasonable claim—to arouse the people to the rapidly approaching crisis, and especially to an adequate comprehension of its inevitably serious character, and huge long-drawn-out proportions; (3) that he had done more than any dozen men—more than all others together, we believe, in the years immediately preceding the war—to *practically* arm and provide the North, improve the germ of her soldiery, and enable her intelligently to avail herself of her own resources so as to make success possible,—and this at a time when the official traitors at the National Capital were delivering all the few available standing advantages into the hands of the South; and (4) that throughout the course of the conflict, although unjustly deprived of the opportunity for actual participation, he nevertheless, with his masterly mind and skillful *pen*, contributed as much, at least, toward the brevity and final outcome of the war, as any one of the great Union Captains actually on the field.

Propositions most startling! do you say. We believe they are at least *most truthful*, and most capable of demonstration. But first let us note that none of the great captains who were actually in the field could consistently yield such points to an outsider, however much they might extol de Peyster as a *military critic*. We must form our opinion, therefore, solely upon the evidence, and the law of probabilities, altogether apart from the dictum of these; while the final jury in the case must be a future generation, so far removed as to be free from bias from all interested parties alike.

1. Our first point, and to a large extent our second and third, must find its proof in his unremitting efforts, for fifteen years prior to the war,

lavished upon the militia of New-York State. Says General Wainwright, after alluding to de Peyster's youthful performances: "It was at the age of twenty-four that these rather desultory manifestations began to form into a definite character. In 1845 he entered the militia service of his native State. He rose in a short time to the command of a regiment, and subsequently to that of a brigade—both located in the vicinity of his country seat, at Tivoli, in Dutchess Country, New-York."

Said Whittaker: "From the time when de Peyster took command of a regiment of militia, to that when he was finally brevetted Major-General of the New-York State troops, a period of twenty years, the single-hearted devotion that he evinced to the interests of the citizen-soldiery was unprecedented in a man of his wealth. It is no exaggeration to say, that during all that period he has worked harder than any private soldier in the ranks, to raise the militia to what it ought to be in a free country, to what the founders of that country fondly hoped it might be. Not only time, but money without stint, has he lavished in the cause so dear to his heart."

From the outset, the young officer proved himself a rare disciplinarian, and that still more rare thing, a *practical and rapid organizer of effective troops*. His first commission was that of judge advocate of a brigade, with the rank of major; but very soon obtained an active command, as Colonel of the 111th Regiment, N. Y. S. T. He began at once to bring his troops into a state of great efficiency, and was materially assisted in this by the passage of the reformatory law of 1846-7, effecting a reorganization throughout the State, which was also re-districted. Colonel de Peyster's new district "swallowed up fifteen or sixteen regiments of the old standard," says Whittaker, while their young officer thus found himself in charge of "the whole of Dutchess County and a large part of Columbia County, the latter being a mountainous district, whose inhabitants had long been notorious for their generally lawless and desperate character, setting all authority at defiance." Again, "The new militia law created violent opposition throughout the State; so many officers had been deprived of their grades, and the *esprit de corps* of so many of the old organizations outraged, that it was no wonder it was resisted in places." Moreover, "the anti-rent excitement, then at its full height, further complicated its enforcement," so that when de Peyster "was assigned by the Governor, in 1849, to the command of the Twenty-second Regiment" he "soon had his hands full."

"This assignment," continues Whittaker, "was stated to be for 'meritorious conduct,' and the zeal and devotion to duty which he had

shown in bringing up his old corps to the best state of discipline possible with militia procured him the dangerous honor of his present command. We say *dangerous honor*, for besides opposition to him as a young man assigned for merit alone, a fruitful source of envy to the incapable officers of the neighborhood, it must be remembered that de Peyster was one of the old proprietors of land, and therefore especially hated by the anti-renters. But . . . the Colonel went at his work like a Trojan. He soon reduced his unruly district to order and quiet, although often at the hazard of his life. On one occasion, at a general parade, one wing of his regiment, all but one company, broke out in open mutiny; but that very mutiny sealed his power when quelled, as it immediately was by his own prompt decision. Apprehensive of trouble, he had issued ball cartridge to the company he knew he could rely upon, and by the threat of opening fire on the mutineers he soon reduced the latter to submission. After that there was no more mutinies. The Adjutant-General of the State complimented Colonel de Peyster on being the only officer in the State, with one exception, who had reduced his regiment to proper discipline. For this de Peyster was authorized to wear a beautiful indicative medal. That exception was a former regular army officer, Colonel Willard, of Troy."

"In the handling of troops in mock battles," says General Wainwright,—“by cavalry charges, himself leading his well-mounted staff, including the doctor, up to the muzzles of the muskets of the staunch company, before alluded to, until their steady fire of blank cartridges, reserved to the last moment, drove back the frightened horses,—by the manœuvering and firing of a section of light guns, horsed and loaded very much at his own expense, and the horses ridden by some young country dare-devils who made nothing of tumbling into a ditch, or any other mishap that might befall them,—he learned all that military practice could teach him, and himself instructed, not only the few devotees, in military exercise, but also many unwilling learners. Many complaints of the extent of ground marched over, of the unnecessary strictness of sentry duty, etc., reached not only *his* ears, but probably also the ears of the powers at Albany."

"But while enforcing the obnoxious law," writes Whittaker, "at great personal hazard, in obedience to orders, Colonel de Peyster was so sensible of its imperfections that he spent the greater part of the winter of 1850-51 at Albany, in strenuous efforts to get a better bill passed for the militia. It was in consequence of his exertions, and those of his friend, Senator James W. Beekman, of New-York City, that an im-

proved militia bill was passed in that year. The office of State Military Inspector-General was created for Colonel de Peyster, and if he had been appointed thereto it would have been well for the New-York Militia. But it was soon seen that such an office was full of political availability. The inspector on his travels and reviews would have glorious opportunities for stump-speaking. These degrading counsels prevailed in Albany, and a capital stump-speaker, almost totally ignorant of military affairs, was appointed military inspector, and went on his way rejoicing to exhibit his powers in the talking line."

However, Colonel de Peyster now received from Governor Washington Hunt the appointment of Brigadier-General of New-York State Troops—"the first ever made by a Governor independently in New-York State to that rank, hitherto elective." But failing health forced him for a while from active duties—a circumstance for which he was not sorry, since it enabled him to secure leave of absence for a two years' visit to Europe, which he had planned for some time, and which proved to be of the most vital consequence to the United States. But we shall take this up later, out of its proper order, since it constitutes a chief support to our second and third propositions, and will, meantime, continue with the militia history direct as though there were thus no chronological gap. We should observe, however, that from the first, de Peyster had begun to collect a "military library," which eventually grew to dimensions "surpassing, we believe, any collection of the kind in this country, excepting that at West Point, and numbering, with some extraneous works, many thousand volumes" (Wainwright). Also that for a considerable time prior to his European tour, he had begun "to write on military subjects, especially with reference to producing a militia available at any moment for *real* service" (Wainwright). The same writer declares that "With this object he, in connection with Colonel Cowman, of the Twenty-first Regiment, as editor, established a monthly publication called the *Eclairneur*," and that "this paper was, from the first, supported largely from Colonel de Peyster's purse," while "when Colonel Cowman died, he assumed the sole editorship."

Soon after his return from Europe, on the 1st of January, 1855, Brigadier-General de Peyster received the appointment of Adjutant-General of the State by Governor Myron H. Clark. The Executive afterwards wrote: "Immediately upon the confirmation of our election as Governor of the State of New-York, our mind turned upon him as the best fitted to be at the head of the military system and forces of the State, and as the chief of my staff (Adjutant-General) he discharged his duties with unsurpassed ability, fidelity and efficiency."

But his continuance in this office was brief. "He went to the office," says Whittaker, "to do his duty in reorganizing the citizen-soldiery. He thought that his duty lay with them. He imagined that a militia ought to be made of *soldiers*, ready to serve in the field if need be. He found instead that the duties the Governor principally expected of him were to dance attendance at balls and parties." Elsewhere the same authority says: "The political influences at Albany were averse to a soldier who had no further intention than to do his duty *as* a soldier, and improve the efficiency of the State forces. There was money to be made, and hungry office-holders looking to the chief of staff to help them make it, as had often been the case before. The nibblers at the public purse found the new adjutant-general an incorruptible obstacle. It was enough. He had to leave. The lobby at Albany had many ways of making a position intolerable to a high-spirited man, and all these means were tried. Finally, 'an ulcer' on the gubernatorial side succeeded in inducing the general to resign."

General de Peyster served, therefore, *only two short months* as Adjutant-General of New-York State. Two short months! Ah, I think I see my reader smile compassionately;—another case of "what might have been!" But wait; let us see what these two short months brought forth. According to General Wainwright, de Peyster "resigned in disgust," but "not, however, before he had inaugurated several important undertakings. Among these, were the publication of Revised Regulations for the government of State troops; the reorganization and permanent settlement of the adjutant-general's department; the consociating, so to speak, of the regiments of one arm, by giving them one uniform; the introduction of appropriate artillery; and the preparation of every branch of the State service for emergencies. He also insisted upon the responsibility and accountability of those who presided over the collection and disbursement of the military revenue; perhaps, after all, the most unpalatable of all his 'isms'—as his efforts at reform were sarcastically termed by those whose interest it was to defeat them, by the use of any means." And he adds: "If he failed to complete his plan, no power could paralyze his impulsion, and the seed he sowed bore a harvest of usefulness—scanty as far as regarded his hopes and intentions, but still great in respect to the benefits which accrued to the State."

Referring to de Peyster's "brief period of two months" in office, Whittaker remarks: "The people of the State are not aware that it was not till that time that the regiments of the State were armed uniformly.

Till that year, different calibres and styles of weapon in the various regiments of militia were as numerous as those regiments themselves. De Peyster it was who first issued a general order compelling the adoption of one calibre for all muskets in use in the militia. The saving in expense and trouble to the State, in that one item of ammunition, was incalculable." And he boldly affirms: "Had he stayed in that office longer, we might have now had a uniform militia in our one State, in numbers and efficiency equal to all that every State in the Union can now put into the field together. But the reforms that he had already instituted, *and still more those that he proposed*, were too sweeping and thorough for the fossils that then pretended to rule at Albany, under the real control of unscrupulous political thieves. Too many jealousies were aroused thereby; too many fat abuses were threatened for the bold reformer to be tolerated long. It was the old, old story over again." In short, declares Whittaker, reviewing the account from de Peyster's first connection with the militia, that gallant and *original* soldier has been "*the first introducer of almost every reform of any value that has since distinguished that body of men.*"

This brief and inadequate review of "two months' work" gives decided point to the following, written to de Peyster by his successor in office, Adjutant-General Robert H. Pruyn: "I feel, my dear General, that with your military enthusiasm and knowledge, you are in many respects vastly more fitted for this office than I am. I fear I shall not accomplish as much. My experience has shown me that it is, if not dangerous, at all events far from pleasant to undertake too many reforms. *I should as soon think of partitioning a hornet's nest as of attempting many things you would have had the boldness to execute.*"

The following, from Brevet Brigadier-General Frederick Townsend, who at the date of writing, 1857, held the same office, was also directed to de Peyster: "Permit me, General, to avail myself of this opportunity to express to you a regret, generally entertained among military men connected with the militia, that you did not longer remain at the head of the Adjutant-General's Department, even though at a sacrifice of your private feelings. Having traced up much that you did while in the Department, and perceiving the direction of the work which you had laid out for yourself, I must individually bear testimony of the loss the service sustained on your resigning the commission of Adjutant-General."

We now come to what bears directly, and overwhelmingly, in support of all our first three propositions. Having a prescience of the impending cloud of war, though it seemed to others no larger than a man's

hand, and not having been lulled into security by the futile "Compromise of 1850," the ambitious young general had for some time determined to make a careful study of the military institutions of the old world. His failing health in the winter of 1850-51, enabled him to combine a much-needed relaxation from active service with this coveted investigation; and he solicited, and secured, a commission from the State Legislature as "Military Agent of the State of New-York, to examine and report on such of the military systems of Europe as should be adapted to the use of the State of New-York." The United States authorities gave this appointment their endorsement, President Fillmore conferring his official approval, while the Secretaries of State and War issued letters of recommendation to General de Peyster. "The proviso that he pay his own expenses was perhaps not inserted in the commission, but it was well understood from the outset" (Wainwright). And thus, adds Whittaker, "at his own expense, and for the honor of his native State, he executed a minute examination of every militia system in Europe, in a tour extending over the best part of two years."

Upon his return to America, in 1853, he submitted his elaborate and invaluable reports and had them approved, with a vote of thanks by the Legislature; issued them in a large volume at his own expense; published them as series in his own military journal, *Eclairneur*, which he scattered broadcast, gratis; and appended them to his report as Adjutant-General; while the Senate, in turn, reprinted them as a Senate Document. He published in these various ways, says General Wainwright, "the result of his observations of the landwehr of Prussia and of the militia of Switzerland; in both which countries, and particularly the latter (our own full sister republic), exist systems which, with slight modifications, would make the militia of the United States *real soldiers*, while—West Point graduates being selected during peace in such numbers as might be required for teachers at camps of instruction, or for the superior officers of the militia, which is now done—these same soldiers might, on any call for a National levy, be nearly all turned over to the service, where the first years of our last war have shown they are so most grievously needed."

Says Whittaker: "The results of his reports after this tour have been the foundation of every improvement that our State troops have undergone since that time. In the adoption of his suggestions no credit was given to the author, it is true. The State took his reports. The Legislature printed them. The Governor acted on them. The troops felt

the benefit of the new state of things. But no credit was given to the man whose labors had supplied the material for the edifice. They stole his ideas without crediting him with them, and tried to arrogate that credit to themselves."

Again: "He it was who first advocated the general introduction of the elegant and soldierly gray uniform which gives so neat an appearance to our Seventh Regiment"—and which was adopted from his original suggestions by the Confederates.

And again: "He was the first man in the United States to advocate the use of the brass twelve-pounder Napoleon gun, an engine that in our last war gradually won its way to pre-eminence over every other piece in the service. Its simplicity, durability, and quick-loading render it far superior to the longer range rifle-gun for general service; and at the close of the war it formed the mainstay of our field artillery. De Peyster was the first man to advocate the use of this piece, at a time when six and twelve-pounders were the only guns in the service."

And again: "He was the first man to promulgate a scheme for a paid fire department, with steam fire-engines; a plan founded on his report of the existing organizations in Europe. The fire system in use in all our large cities is entirely due to the exact and painstaking reports of the industrious general."

And yet, nevertheless, these reports were only a small portion of what appeared from his pen in the two or three years after his return from Europe. The monthly *Eclaircur*, says Wainwright, "he not only edited, but printed entirely at his own expense for several years (1853, 1854, 1855, 1856), distributing the copies gratuitously through his militia district and to whoever exhibited any interest in such matters." Besides a large number of original articles of great value, he also issued in these pages such important translations as that of the celebrated Bersaglieri Rifle Drill and Bayonet Exercise; von Hardegg's Treatise on the Science of the General Staff—a considerable volume in itself, and "the most important branch of service in an army in the field, the ignorance of which was the most fruitful cause of all of our early disasters during the Rebellion"; von Hardegg's Chronological Tables of Military Science and History; and innumerable and "various extracts from military works of interest." Moreover, immediately after his resignation as Adjutant-General, de Peyster began to give his whole attention, and devote the full powers of his extraordinary energies and abilities to the field of military criticism, in which he has far distanced every name in America; and from that time, says Wainwright, "the general

has continued to occupy himself with military studies, and with writing on military subjects." At the opening period of the Rebellion he was already the acknowledged master in this department.

We have surely demonstrated, not only the fitness of our indefatigable general for the commission which Lincoln refused him, but his superiority, so unquestioned, over most, which made this refusal inexplicable, when we consider the stripe of brigade commanders who *were* so frequently accepted. Nevertheless, we shall go on to state the facts under our fourth count, as strengthening and vindicating also the first three. We declare, then, that shut out from the service, de Peyster, with his pen, contributed at least as much toward the result as any single commander on the field.

Whittaker has placed himself on record unequivocally: "Confined by constant sickness to the inaction of civil life during the war, our general of militia yet developed such a soundness of advice, such a prescience of view, in the pamphlets and newspaper articles which he constantly contributed to the current literature of the epoch, that it is not too much to say that he contributed as much to the final success of our arms with his *mind*, as Sherman and Sheridan with their *swords*."

The same author declares that "the blunders and useless slaughters at the beginning of our civil war, the resultless victories of both North and South, were the natural result of such a state of things"—provincial notions on subjects military, and lamentable ignorance "on a subject so purely scientific as strategy"—which de Peyster's writings at this period encountered and gradually corrected.

"Among his writings," says Wainwright, "Winter Campaigns"—in which he summons up from their tombs the doings of men who, from 1600 to 1849, performed seeming impossibilities—was curiously enough followed by a *sudden change in the operations of our armies*." And he further remarkably testifies: "The prescience of de Peyster as to the result of military operations, has been such that it would be *scarcely credible unless supported by irrefragable proof*. He predicted the result of the Peninsular campaign of 1862, immediately after the Battle of Williamsburg; and pointed out how Gettysburg could be made the grave of Lee as soon as news arrived of his northward march. These are only two of *many instances* during our own great American War."

"A very curious instance of this occurred," says another writer, "late in February, or early in March, 1865. A noted military editor, considering the aspect of affairs before Petersburg, asked General de Peyster what Lee might still be able to do to better his condition and

prolong his defense. 'Punch Grant's lines near "Fort Hell (Steadman)," was the ready reply. 'If made with adequate numbers this sortie in force can get possession of Grant's depots and destroy his accumulated supplies of food, ammunition and other material, at City Point. This, at least, will cause great delay, and such a blow may have incalculable effects on the result.' A few days afterwards, on the 25th March, this very attempt was made, and Gordon's sortie only came short of success because undertaken with inadequate force."

And, finally, says Whittaker, summing up the whole: "As a military critic, an expounder of *sound truths*, a fearless exposé of charlatanism in high places, de Peyster will take his rank among the writers of the present day in the estimate of posterity. . . . As a powerful and *original* writer on military matters, as an earnest advocate of progress in that slowest moving of all sciences, the art of war, he has achieved a world-wide reputation among the true scientific *warriors* of the age." It should be added also, that, in the words of the same writer, it was as "a consistent supporter of the government to the close of the Rebellion," that he rendered those "services whose value was fittingly expressed in the year 1866 by a concurrent resolution of the Senate and House of Assembly of New-York State, bestowing on General de Peyster the brevet of Major-General of New-York State Troops for 'meritorious services.'" Something without a parallel in the history of the State or United States.

In order to estimate his practical abilities as a general and strategist, we must also observe his similar achievements since the close of the Rebellion, to show that there was nothing phenomenal or spasmodic in his showing during that conflict. General Wainwright, after observing, as above, his military prescience, "scarcely credible unless supported by irrefragable proof," adds: "As to the Austro-Italo-French War of 1859, his acquaintance with the topographical and climatic peculiarities of Piedmont and Northern Italy enabled him to demonstrate the exact course of events ending in the compulsory retrograde of the Austrians to the scene of their final defeat; and as to the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866, he not only foretold the triumph of Prussia, and the course of the campaign, but put his finger on the decisive battle-field. In 1867, in an article of three columns of the *Army and Navy Journal*, under date of 4th May, he mapped out the course of the Prusso-French war of 1870, in a way that its foreshadowing might well pass for a narrative of the actual occurrences of 1870. As to the contest itself of 1870, he did not make a single error. The

preliminary movements were indicated; the fields, and the consequences of the opening shocks. In regard to Sedan, in a letter written the day before the news of the conflict arrived by cable, he declared what must inevitably follow the relative positions of the contending armies, the gradual progress of the one and the defeats of the other, the configuration of the ground, etc." It was these things, indeed, ever recurring with their constant surprises, which led General Barnard to declare, "de Peyster's judgment of military matters is almost infallible."

Again, says Whittaker, "the war over, the same clear mind was the first to recognize, the same vigorous pen the first to enforce the necessity of a vital change in *tactics* to meet the new state of things developed by the use of repeating firearms. Others vaguely hinted at the change, blind as to the exact nature of it. It was a general of militia who first showed the world (in a communication to the *Army and Navy Journal*), that the skirmish line, fed from compact supports, was the true basis of all future tactics. Lines and columns, squares hollow and in mass, may be the drill of manoeuvre for martinetry and the old established abuse founded on unapplied precedents, but the tactics of battle have left them forever."

These are merely the *grounds*, most briefly outlined, on which we base our four startling propositions. The reader must investigate for himself the detailed picture, in its full colors. But though the outline be rudely and inadequately stated, is it not sufficient? Is it not at least sufficient to cause just astonishment that "such things should be"? But whatever conclusions be reached by the reader, let him bear in mind this prediction: that among a generation of military students yet to arise the above propositions will form the centre of one of the most interesting controversies of our entire Civil War, and that the view here presented will not fare the worst. As to the defensibility of Lincoln's refusal of de Peyster's requests, we shall leave that to be worked out by the reader who is sufficiently interested to inform himself of the relative fitness, and comparative prior records, of de Peyster and those who received brigade commands; and he may decide for himself whether it was the question of *merit* which always settled these cases, and notably de Peyster's, or whether questions of *expediency*, of *politics*, and of *prejudice* often obtruded even into Lincoln's councils.

And now one word *in defense of Lincoln*, although it may have been thought that we have urged little hitherto on that side. Lincoln's ability to gather fit helpers about him is unquestioned, although he not infrequently permitted erroneous advisers to hold him back from the

exercise of his judgment. We must do him the justice to say that *such was the case in the present instance*. Whether the strange power of the strange Stanton held the President back, or the insistent opposition of "West Point" counsellors, who urged the absolute impossibility that a "militia general" could possess real genius and practical talent, over-persuaded him,—it is not our purpose to speculate upon, since we have no certain data on this point. But that Lincoln desired to avail himself of de Peyster's services is no doubt a fact.

Writing of de Peyster, Mr. W. L. Stone says: "Although completely prostrated in health, and against the advice of his friends and physicians, when war was imminent he went to Washington and offered to President Lincoln three regiments, to be officered by men of experience and knowledge. This offer, for reasons not known and unknowable, was refused, to the astonishment of military officers of highest rank and experience. Another similar offer in the fall of 1861 met with an equally incomprehensible refusal, although the General's capacity was acknowledged as indisputable. *President Lincoln would have chosen him as chief of his personal staff but for individual and interested opposition.*"

This last statement is fully justified, and some light thrown, possibly, on the two preceding "unknowable" and "incomprehensible" performances, by a statement made over his own signature by Peter Halstead, dated "New York, June 4, 1889," as follows: "I see the question agitated by the English press, who is General de Peyster, to whom General Cust dedicated his last military work? As one who knows, I can answer from several standpoints. . . . I do know that President Lincoln at one time contemplated giving General de Peyster the high military position of chief of his personal staff, an independent organization contemplated, and warranted by the demands and necessities of the occasion,—which appointment was overruled by interested parties who were unwilling the General should occupy a position so important and independent."

Cut off himself so unjustly from the active service of his country, and yet rendering it so effectively with his brain and pen spite of all opposition, it is interesting to note that de Peyster's three sons bore arms with distinction for the Union, while the two elder became martyrs in the cause. Of these the elder, Colonel John Watts de Peyster, Jr., born in New-York City, December 2, 1841, and died in 1873, "after ten years' unremitted suffering, the consequence of arduous service in the field," was characterized by Major-General Joseph E. Hooker as "greatly

distinguished for gallantry and good conduct at the battle of Williamsburg, and no less remarked for his coolness and courage under me at the battle of Chancellorsville"; was dubbed by that bravest of soldiers, Major-General Phil. Kearny, "as brave as myself"; was described by Major-General Peck as "a young soldier of zeal, energy, and fired with a patriotic ambition"; was styled by Brig.-General Joshua T. Owen, "a soldier of great force in action, and capable by his personal heroism of inspiring others with his own fiery courage"; from Major-General A. P. Howe received the testimony, that "the chivalric gallantry of character and the patriotic devotion to duty which led Colonel de Peyster in the voluntary performance of more than duty, to sacrifice upon the altar of his country his health and the bright promise of a noble manhood, justly entitle him to the favorable consideration of the government and the kind consideration of his countrymen"; and by Major-General Alex. Shaler, and Generals Howe, Owens, and others was credited with having "saved the Sixth Corps" with his artillery at Bank's Ford, on the right during the operations of Chancellorsville.

The second son, Colonel Frederic de Peyster, Jr., born in New-York City, December 13, 1842, and died in 1874, "of diseases contracted in the field," after another brilliant career; while the third son, Colonel Johnston Livingston de Peyster, born in New-York, December 12, 1846, enjoyed the honor, as General Badeau, and many others testify, of having "raised the first flag over Richmond."

It now but remains to cite a few chief titles, illustrating General de Peyster's extraordinary range and fertility of authorship, and we shall leave this study to such as may have been sufficiently interested to pursue it on their own account.

Let it be understood, then, at the outset, that no attempt at a comprehensive survey can be made in the few paragraphs in which we shall consider General de Peyster in his character as author. What is undertaken is merely in illustration of his unusual versatility and vast range of scholarship.

As a military writer he is, of course, most famous, while his energies have been proportionately in this direction. His series of Reports to the State of New-York on the military systems of Europe, published in 1852—a mine of information on this subject unexhausted to this day—have been already referred to; as also his military articles and translations which appeared in the *Eclairneur*, which he edited, between 1853 and 1856. About the same time appeared a volume which attracted wide attention, and especially in Europe—"The History of the Life of

Leonard Torstenson."¹ This work obtained the highest encomiums, and an award of three medals to its author from Oscar I., King of Sweden. It is not, by any means, a mere biography; neither an ordinary history; but as its title expresses, the "*History of the Life*" of a great warrior, written by a soldier and critic. It might be justly described as a "biographical military history," and was the first departure in this direction, certainly in America. It presents to us in vivid, life-like colors—but ever from the strict point of view of the military critic—one of the greatest, if least known, of the warriors of the world—one whom Napoleon forgot when he cited the commanders who never suffered a defeat,—Torstenson never lost a battle and his three battles were decisive of governing phases of the Thirty Years' War. But this work did not long stand alone. In its preparation, General de Peyster had mastered the whole subject of the Thirty Years' War,—in respect to which a greater authority than himself does not live to-day,—and his study on Torstenson became the center of a veritable library on this subject. As an instance of his exhaustive method along any line in which he interests himself, it may, perhaps, be well to note the associated titles, which followed one another, on this theme. In addition to the great initial work appeared the "Eulogy of Torstenson, by Gustavus III., King of Sweden" (translation, 1872); the "Thirty Years' War and Military Services of Field Marshal Leonard Torstenson" (1873); "Torstenson and the Battle of Janikan" (1879); "Gustavus Adolphus" (1880); "The Thirty Years' War, with Special Reference to the Military Operations and Influence of the Swedes" (1884); supplements to the above, "I. After Nordlingen, 1634," and "II. Nordlingen to Wittstock, Baner, and Torstenson, 1636" (1885); "Literature of the Thirty Years' War" (1885); "Torstenson Before Vienna" (1885); "Religious Aspects of the Thirty Years' War" (1887); "Passage of the Lech, by Gustavus Adolphus" (1887); "Peace of Westphalia—Mischievous Influence of Queen Christina" (1888); and "Wallenstein: the Most Extraordinary Individual of the XVII. Century; Whose Rise and Fall were the Turning-Points of the Thirty Years' War" (1889).

A similar array might be cited of his historical studies of the Dutch; including among their titles: "The Dutch Admirals"; "Gems from Dutch History"; "The Dutch at the North Pole, and the Dutch in Maine";² "Proofs considered of the Early Settlement of Acadia by the Dutch" (1858); "The Dutch Battle of the Baltic" (1858); "The History of Carausius, the Dutch Augustus, and Emperor of Britain,

¹ Poughkeepsie: 1855. 381 pages.

² New-York: 1857. 100 pages.

Zeeland, Dutch Flanders, Armorica and the Seas; the Great First Hollandish Admiral, and the First Sailor King of England. With which is Interwoven an Historical and Ethnological Account of the Menapii, the Ancient Zeelanders, and Dutch Flemings. Compiled from 200 Ancient Medieval and Modern Authorities";¹ afterwards greatly augmented, if not doubled or trebled; and "The Ancient, Medieval and Modern Netherlanders, Dutch and Flemings; being a Synopsis of their Chronographical and Ethnological Relations, as well as a consideration of their Influence upon the Destinies of England and France" (1859).

In the same way, coming down to the Revolutionary period, we have another large array of titles, among which are: "Major-General Philip Schuyler and the Burgoyne Campaign" (1877); "Battle of Oriskany"; "The Battles of Monmouth and Capture of Stony Point" (a series of exhaustive articles, 1879); "Sir John Johnson, Bart." (1880); "The Affair at King's Mountain" (1880); "Battle of Eutaw Springs" (1881); "Siege of Yorktown" (1881); "Life and Military Services of Sir John Johnson, Bart." (1882); "Operations in Rhode Island"; "The Burgoyne Campaign" (1883); "Major-General Anthony Wayne" (several monographs on this subject); "Gates vs. Burgoyne"; "Who 'Burgoyned' Burgoyne," etc.

Arriving at the period of the Civil War, the list is so much more formidable than those above, that we dare not attempt it. It may be said that de Peyster is, distinctively, *the* critic of the Civil War, as we have seen before; and his works on the subject are legion. Under the title "A History of the Third Corps, Army of the Potomac, 1861-65," may be comprehended a vast "series of elaborate articles in dailies, weeklies, monthlies," with "monographs and addresses, etc., comprising everything relating to the Corps, even to the smallest details, from 1861 to 1865." This was the famous "fighting Corps," and its history involves, practically, a history of the entire conflict. But this is only a small part. His "Third Corps at Gettysburg; General Sickles Vindicated" (first presented in 1875, and republished several times since), is "by impartial judges considered as a final settlement of the question of the judiciousness of the movement of the Third Corps on the second day, *the day of Gettysburg.*"

But de Peyster's critical volume on his cousin, "The Personal and Military History of Philip Kearny, Major-General of United States Volunteers,"² is considered by many his greatest effort. It has been

¹ Poughkeepsie: 1858. 335 pages.

² New-York and Newark, N. J.: 1863. 512 pages. Second Edition, New-York and Elizabeth, N. J.: 1870.

pronounced "the best military biography we have seen," and it will remain a work of the most intense interest and permanent value so long as great military achievements and the most gallant and romantic bravery continue to have a fascination for the human mind.

The relations of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, and her husband, the Earl of Bothwell, is another subject which General de Peyster has taken up exhaustively and probed to the bottom. As in so many other instances, he takes ground in opposition to the entire set of his predecessors who have touched the subject, and who have followed one another in a beaten path of tradition. And yet an examination must convince every one that his view is the correct one. With consummate industry, painstaking and expense, he gathered together all the authorities and data on the subject which he could unearth, and then sent forth, one after the other, seven exhaustive works on the subject, in which, in a masterly, yet intensely interesting fashion, he marshalled the proofs in support of his views. By conferring upon the Scottish Queen an unmerited martyrdom, Elizabeth put her artful opponent in the way to receive the homage of a sickly sentimentality ever since; while Bothwell has been universally traduced by the historians in order to maintain Mary on her tottering pedestal. General de Peyster reverses this decree, without going to extremes on either side, and thus brings to light the truth long hidden. One need but read him to be convinced. "Mary," he declares, "but fulfilled the destiny of her race. . . . Bothwell was not *her* evil genius, she was *his*. . . . Everything connected with Mary's career has been distorted favorably by her own champions or advocates, or for evil by the opposition. . . . Doubtless there have been worse women; but, as far as her impulses were concerned, she was about 'as bad as they make them.' Her powers of fascination were boundless, and she used them to their fullest extent wherever her interests seemed to indicate they might be of service to herself or conducive to her purposes. She was habituated to look upon murder with complacency, and immorality as not only pardonable, but commendable. Her passions, when aroused, appear to have been uncontrolled; and her love to have been simply material." On the other hand, he affirms that his studies of Bothwell "are intended to present the character of a 'REAL MAN'—traduced through over three centuries—in a true light, and demonstrate how villainously he has been misrepresented, calumniated, and—pardon the expression, but it is the only one applicable in this case—consistently belied." But while merely insisting upon the manhood and greatness of Bothwell, in certain respects, and his

stand alone, almost, as a consistent patriot, de Peyster makes no effort to canonize him, or extenuate his grievous faults. He presents him as he was—"to say the worst, the border-chieftain, the indomitable moss-trooper," with his crimes upon his head; and yet towering above a mass of mean, perfidious, and villainous contemporaries. General de Peyster has also produced a dramatic masterpiece entitled "*Bothwell*"—which it is "impossible to present on the boards," declares one of the greatest of French critics, because of the large cast of personages, requiring more first-class actors than could well be brought together in one company, but which is "magnificent to read."

Several remarkable monographs on "*Waterloo*" are among the latest military writings of General de Peyster. They give new views, yet on a sound basis of facts which he carefully marshals in their support; he is one of the ablest authorities on Hannibal; he is the biographer of such Union captains of our late war as General George H. Thomas, Major-General Heintzelman, Major-General Hooker, Major-General Joseph B. Kiddo, Major-General Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, Major-General Hancock, and others; and his range is illustrated by such titles as the "*Destruction of Pharaoh and His Host*," "*Joshua and the Battle of Beth-horon*," "*Was The Shakespeare a Myth?*" "*Masacre of St. Bartholomew*," on "*Michael Angelo*," on "*Dante*," "*Buddhism and Romanism Compared*," "*A Tale of Leipsic*," "*Gypsies*," "*Duke Christian of Brunswick and Elizabeth Stuart, Princess Royal of England, Electress*," "*Aculco, Oriskany, and Miscellaneous Poems*," and other treatises, poems, translations, etc., which would aggregate volume upon volume of collected writings.¹

If what has been already said shall suffice to stir the interest of some, to whom these facts are unknown, the purpose of the present writer will have been achieved; while he who is still unsatisfied, it would be worse than useless to endeavor to convince.

¹ General de Peyster's last honor was his election as Honorary Fellow, or Member, of the British "Society of Science, Letters and Art, of London," and the conferring by them on him their magnificent gold medal for 1894, for "Literary and Scientific Attainments." He is Litt. D., LL.D., A. M., and Honorary, or Corresponding, or Life, or Simple Fellow, or member of enough societies at home and abroad to fill a page of this magazine.

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WATERLOO. By Gen. J. Watts de Peyster. New York: 1893. (Reprinted from the "College Student," Lancaster, Pa.)

THE PRUSSIANS IN THE CAMPAIGN OF WATERLOO. Illustrated. By Gen. J. Watts de Peyster. New York: 1894. (Reprinted from the "College Student," Lancaster, Pa.)

AUTHORITIES FOR GEN. DE PEYSTER'S CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE OF WATERLOO (First and Second Pamphlets), the Influence of the Prussians upon the Campaign of Waterloo, and Other Works on Napoleon Bonaparte. Compiled, with notes, by Gen. J. Watts de Peyster. New York: 1894.

The above four monographs from the critical pen of Gen. de Peyster constitute a remarkable contribution to the abundant Napoleonic literature. Gen. de Peyster justly criticises the assurance of a recent writer on this subject (no other than Archibald Forbes, the famous war-correspondent), who closes his own effort with a remark (on *Rope's Waterloo*, a volume on that Campaign) that "the last word has been said on Waterloo." The above series is the best possible refutation of this. In truth, it has been left to Gen. de Peyster (and no one is more competent) to bring together the entire literature on the subject, and comparing authorities, sift the wheat from the chaff—the truth from the huge mass of error and misrepresentation with which prejudiced writers have obscured it. And so successfully has he accomplished this difficult and delicate task that his monographs must prove invaluable to the future student.

Gen. de Peyster has demonstrated four chief propositions:

1. Both Wellington and Blucher were surprised. "With an admiration," says de Peyster, "of the sublime heroism of Wellington and the responding sublimity of courage exhibited by his troops at Waterloo, and the more than extraordinary human resolution, energy, zeal and courage displayed by Blucher and the Prussians, nevertheless, the man of soldierly instincts who has diligently studied the Annals of War and the Manceuvres of Campaigns, must be blind to the lessons of both if he shirks from expressing the disinterested opinion—an opinion the

harder to reach because it is co-ordinated with a conviction that Napoleon heaped blunder upon blunder—that the French Emperor did surprise Blucher to some extent and Wellington in a much greater degree.” This he argues convincingly and supports by citations from the most diverse sources.

2. While Wellington and his men held their ground with rarest courage and heroism, the Prussians, nevertheless, saved them from defeat, otherwise inevitable. “To say that Wellington *won* the battle of Waterloo is a perversion of terms,” declares de Peyster. “It is the truth—and that is glory enough for him and his troops—that they held their own and so long against such terrible odds. Blucher decided, and therefore technically as well as virtually won the battle and gleaned as well as gathered the fruits. . . . Where would Wellington have been if over one-quarter of Napoleon’s best troops had not been diverted from Wellington to meet and to hold off the Prussians while Napoleon was making his desperate throws for probabilities?”

Gen. de Peyster completely exposes the assurance of the long line of British writers who have claimed for the English all the credit of victory, ignoring the part played by the heroic Blucher, and even insinuating that no Prussians were seen on the field till the battle was won! This heresy, it is safe to say, will never rear its head again. Let us briefly summarize Gen. de Peyster’s demonstration:

The actual fighting of the English in the battle of Waterloo began at 11½ A.M., while our author shows that “Napoleon, *about noon*, saw the Prussians on the crest of Saint Lambert, coming to the assistance of Wellington, and detached 3,100 cavalry to arrest or delay their march.” Again, “Blucher ordered his artillery to open about 4½ P.M., ‘to give Wellington air,’ or a breathing spell, and at that hour [quoting Gardner] ‘part of the Prussian army became part of the battle of Waterloo.’” Again, Napoleon sent against the Prussians, 7,500 men under the valiant and experienced Lobau, 4,000 (Young Guard) under Duhesme, and 1,500 of the Old Guard, “so that Wellington was relieved at the crisis from the pressure of [at least] 16,100 of the very best troops in the French army.” Finally, “Ziethen, with the Prussian First Corps, about 7 P.M., came into line, and four of his batteries actually assisted in repelling the final attack of the Imperial Guard, and his troops completely disposed of all the French forces on the east side of the Brussels-Charleroi road, and occasioned that panic which gradually involved the whole of Napoleon’s army.” The statistics of the battle reveal the significance of all this. “The Anglo-allies, fighting from 11½

A.M. to about 9 P.M., say nine hours," says de Peyster, "lost 15,430 men, of which the British loss, proper, was 6,936; while the Prussians, in action less than four hours, lost 6,998! These figures are the best witness as to the desperate fighting done by the Prussians and best tell the story of their decisive influence upon the result." There are many other facts, of similar import, which cannot be mentioned here, but which fully justify Gen. de Peyster's two questions, in concluding his monograph on the Prussian influence: "Under all these circumstances, which are admitted by trustworthy military writers, who won the battle of Waterloo? Was not the victory entirely due to Blucher and his Prussians?"

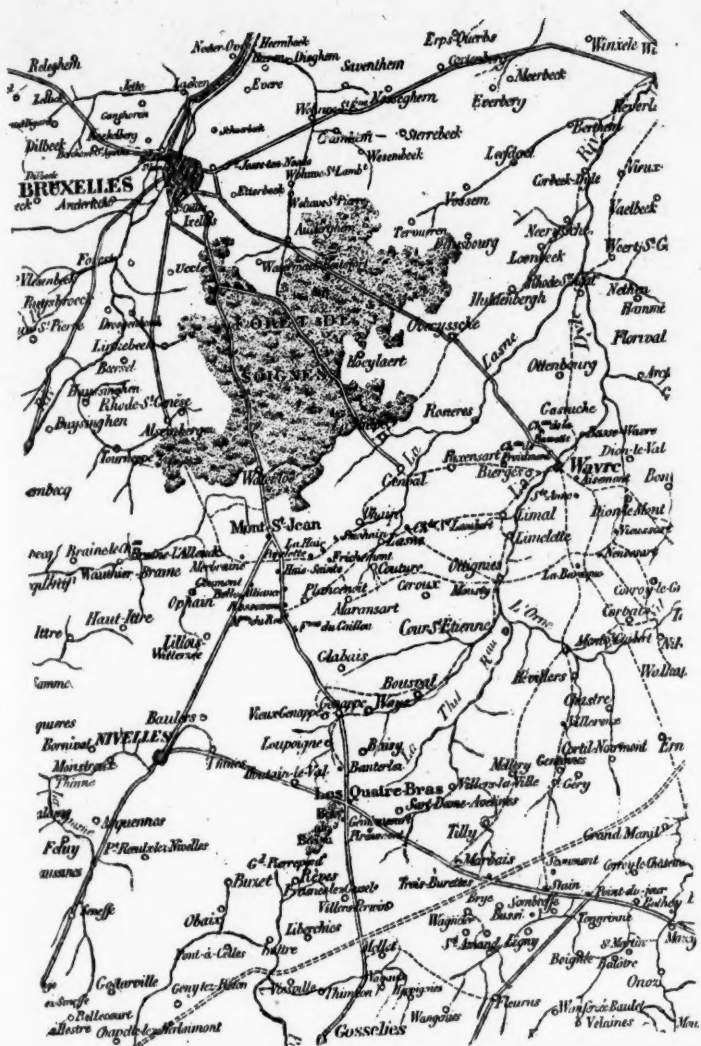
Moreover, in the previous conduct of the Prussians, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th (which cannot be even hinted here), Gen. de Peyster demonstrates an anticipatory saving of the English, by stubborn fighting, and heroic—unexampled—celerity in getting to the field of Waterloo. Let no one interested in war annals fail to consult this story of the brilliant generalship and personal heroism of Blucher and Ziethen.

3. Gen. de Peyster demonstrates that Napoleon's military genius, at its best, has been vastly overestimated in popular opinion; while the Hundred Days' campaign, anticipatory and actual, after his return from Elba, is one succession of blunders which could not be excused in the most mediocre commander. In the first place, Napoleon's delay of the Belgium campaign from March to June was fatal. This delay only swelled his army from 85,000 or 90,000 to 120,000, but gave the allies a chance to double their troops, and to thoroughly prepare forces and defences which were originally weak and ill-supplied. Again, Napoleon left troops behind him (where they were useless) which would have been, says de Peyster, "of inestimable value to him in Belgium." On the 15th, however, when Napoleon crossed the Sambre, both Wellington and Blucher were—the first inexcusably, the second comparatively—surprised. Yet Ziethen by his wonderful retreating fight, caused the French the loss of a day. This, again, was fatal. On the 16th they attacked the English at Quatre-Bras and were defeated, while Napoleon engaged the Prussians at Ligny. He drove Blucher from the field at last (the losses on both sides in the conflict about equal), but did not pursue and attempt to annihilate him. "That Napoleon attempted no pursuit was a matter of astonishment to his most ardent admirers," says Gen. de Peyster. As a result, Blucher appeared at Waterloo, two days later, and decided the day. Having failed to follow up his advantage at Ligny, on the next day (the 17th) Napoleon made another unaccount-

able blunder. He detached 35,000 troops under Grouchy to watch Blücher, and set out with the residue against Wellington. As Gen. de Peyster remarks, this detached force was not sufficient to hinder Blücher's advance toward Waterloo—with whom, moreover, there was no chance of coming up, since Napoleon had given him ten hours (some allege sixteen) start. On the other hand, Napoleon's army was thus weakened, at a time when every man counted. So far as Waterloo was concerned, Napoleon might as well have cast Grouchy's 35,000 men into the sea. Further, "Napoleon himself, having wasted the best part of the 16th, now again threw away just about as much of the 17th before he started to seek Wellington." Finally, in the presence of Wellington, Napoleon threw away hours before the attack, while every minute was bringing Blücher nearer. During the battle errors no more excusable were made. He sacrificed the flower of his army in attacking the English posts and squares, which material and mortal fortresses should first have been battered by artillery. "Had he used cannon balls or shells against inert and living walls instead of wasting men upon them, he would have saved hours and thousands of lives," says Gen. de Peyster. "Two or three batteries of heavy guns would have rushed matters to such a degree on his left and centre . . . that the crisis must have been reached before Blücher did arrive." Again, his charging columns on the right were in a suicidal order—solid phalanxes, sixteen file deep. Wellington's guns mowed them down. Napoleon's contemporaries had already learned that this style of warfare was impracticable in the presence of modern artillery, and if Napoleon was the genius he is thought to be, he should have had this lesson learned long since. Gen. de Peyster points out various other errors, hardly more excusable.

4. Our author sees in the whole campaign a manifest testimony of the truth that "the heavens do rule." Napoleon's previous successes cannot be explained on a basis of superlative genius and generalship. He was the "scourge of God" upon Europe, and success was given him, as in the case of Attila, for a time. But the same disposing power had fixed his limits, and when the period arrived, his extraordinary genius (if such he possessed¹) seemed to disappear as if by magic, giving

¹ That the French should seek to elevate their master into a prodigy of genius is reasonable because necessary to excuse their own often blasphemous servility, to which few, like M. Lanjuinais, while a member of the Senate, had the manliness to be exceptions. "What!" exclaimed he, rebuking the servility of his colleagues in full assembly, "will you submit to give your country a master taken from a race of origin so ignominious that the Romans disdained to employ them as slaves?" On the other hand, that the English so exalt him is likewise reasonable to proportionally elevate their man, "the world's victor's victor," Wellington, and that peculiar tendency, unworthy so great a race, which worships success however attained,—an error like their praise of Robert E. Lee as pre-eminent until Grant rubbed him out. To Lee's credit he had the modesty and honesty to father his own blunders on the third day of Gettysburg, which Napoleon di Buonaparte never did. (Note the original spelling, his own signature, when he started in life.)



The above map shows the roads and by-roads on which the Prussians and French moved and operated, 16th, 17th, 18th June, 1815, and only those by-roads in existence THEN; all which do NOT appear have been constructed SINCE. (See note on next page.)

place to a conglomeration of errors which might well shame a tyro. His previous energy and swiftness in action was succeeded by an unaccountable sloth and slowness. And what his own blunders failed to achieve toward defeat, the elements conspired to bring against him. The plain hand of Providence in defeat affords the key likewise to the previous meteoric career.

In conclusion, one should make special mention of Gen. de Peyster's compilation of Waterloo authorities. With his usual thoroughness he has collected a complete special library in the preparation of the works mentioned above. This library he has classified, with appended notes, giving a critical estimate of the value in testimony and special features of the various authorities. This classification is simply invaluable to the student desiring to master this subject.

NOTE.—SYLVAIN BALAU, at the end of Vol. II. of his work, "*La Belgique sous l'Empire et la Défaite de Waterloo, 1804-1815*" (Paris—Louvain, 1894), furnished a map to assist in understanding the Military Operations of June, 1815. This map, prepared with care by the Military Cartographic Institute, shows the former roadways of which a number have since been suppressed or done away, and indicates the majority of the names mentioned in connection with the campaign; and only the routes appear upon it which existed in 1815; whereas other maps deceive, showing roads which have since been laid out.



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